

The Nation.

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The Week.

The average reader of President Roosevelt's Fargo speech would get the impression that every officer guilty of cruelty to Filipinos had been punished. But the President himself has disapproved the verdicts in the cases of Brig-Gen. J. H. Smith, Major E. F. Glenn, Capt. J. A. Ryan, First Lieut. E. A. Hickman, First Lieut. J. E. Gaujot, First Lieut. F. T. Arnold, and others who were tried for cruelty to prisoners or natives, on the ground that justice was not subserved by the trial courts. First Lieut. E. Hagadorn, who tortured natives by depriving them of water, was never punished until he was landed in the penitentiary for vulgar embezzlement. First Lieut. George DeG. Catlin was never tried for offences against natives, on the ground that he was unbalanced; but he is now on duty again. Capt. Howze has thus far escaped punishment for his offences at Laoag. Gen. Chaffee officially disapproved the acquittals of Major Waller and Lieut. Day, the marine officers, tried for cruelty in Samar, and Gen. Davis has just disapproved the findings in the second trial of Major Glenn. We believe we are correct, therefore, in saying that in every case except that of Capt. Preston Brown, found guilty of murder, the findings of the court have been practically set aside by the highest reviewing officer—a sufficient commentary on the efficiency of the present court-martial system. But President Roosevelt has stepped in where the courts have failed, and, as we have frequently pointed out, upheld the honor and ideals of the service in a courageous and manly fashion (except in the Brown case), declining to be led astray by tales of Filipino barbarities. That any offenders were punished at all is, we believe, due to him alone.

A cablegram from Manila brings the news that Gen. Davis has rebuked still another court-martial for failure properly to punish an officer charged with manslaughter in killing two prisoners of war. Lieut. Joel R. Lee, Tenth Infantry, is the officer accused. The offence was committed in a small town near Misamis in Mindanao. Lieut. Lee took the two prisoners into his quarters for examination as to their alleged connection with a Filipino leader named Rufino Deloso. After questioning the first man, Lieut. Lee turned him over to a corporal with orders to confine him in Lieut. Lee's kitchen, and to shoot him if he "tried to escape." This man was shot within five

minutes, and the second met precisely the same fate, having also "tried to escape" from the corporal, although aware of his companion's fate, and himself unarmed. In this case, like that of Major Howze, the charges were preferred by officers, those of the constabulary having reported Lieut. Lee to his superiors. An attempt was made to turn him over to a civil court, where he should have been tried. Instead, he went before a court of his fellows and was acquitted—illegally and in flagrant contradiction of the testimony, according to Major-Gen. Davis, who holds Lee unworthy of acquittal.

The eagerly expected list of army officers selected for duty on the new general staff, as announced on Thursday, will, as a whole, give great satisfaction to the army. Every man chosen is a graduate of West Point, twenty-two classes being represented, from that of 1867 to that of 1897. Thirty of the officers have been graduated since January 1, 1879, and represent the younger and progressive element in the service. Of the other twelve, three saw service in the civil war before entering West Point, and nearly all have been eminent in one way or another—Lieut.-Col. Charles Shaler in the Ordnance, Major Knight as head of the Torpedo School, Major Duvall as a most excellent regimental commander in the Philippines, Col. J. B. Kerr as military attaché in Brussels and Berlin, etc., etc. The excellent character of the selections is best seen in the list of captains. Not one of these belongs to the class of political officers or notoriety seekers, of which there are still too many in the service. Capt. P. C. March, for instance, showed admirable traits as commander of the Astor Battery and lieutenant-colonel of a volunteer regiment in the Philippines; Capt. J. T. Dickman earned an enviable reputation in Panay, as lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-sixth Volunteers; Capts. Ramsey and Gallagher were respectively the best quartermaster and commissary developed by the China expedition and by service in the field in Cuba and the Philippines. Capt. J. J. Pershing is the humane cavalry officer who is trying to maintain peace with the Moros without further loss of life, and Capt. C. D. Rhodes, an excellent duty officer, has won by his pen the gold medal of the Military Service Institution. These selections (together with the names passed over) will convince the army that the board which made them lived up to its promise to consider merit only. It is undoubtedly the flower of the service, which will enter upon its important duties on August 15, and it is noticeable that no charge of

cruelty or misconduct in the Philippines has been made against any army officer on the list. There will, however, be some criticism of the fact that seven officers, or one-sixth, came from Corbin's department—the Adjutant-General's.

The full review of the first eleven months of President Palma's rule in Cuba published in Monday's *Sun*, confirms all reports received from independent sources in regard to the progress of the island. So far from coming to the end of their independent career at the end of six months, as was expected, by most of the American officers in Cuba, the people, to quote a recent traveller, "seem to have developed a real genius for self-government." President Palma himself has won praise from many sources by his tact and dignified bearing, and finds himself supported in Congress by a safe majority. There has been no disturbance of law and order except one strike, promptly settled, and the country is so evidently peaceable that the Washington Administration properly contemplates reducing the American troops in the island by one-half, and sending the remainder to the new naval stations. In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Sun's* correspondent believes any armed revolution or warlike insurrection to be "quite as improbable as it is in any State in the American Union." The finances of the island have steadily improved under President Palma. Starting with an alleged balance of \$540,000 left by Gen. Wood, the republic had in bank on April 1, 1903, \$2,638,000—a striking contrast to the years of Gen. Wood's régime, in which he overspent his income by some \$1,400,000.

The *Sun's* observer also points out that the recurrent low price of sugar again threatens the industrial safety of the republic. For a time last fall, conditions were so favorable that the leading planters saw a small margin of profit before them, and began operations with that expectation. Now the market is glutted, and only a few of the estates will make a profit. Some may even be ruined. Fortunately, the imports into the island have shown no decrease whatever, and this has permitted the republic to keep up its sanitary work, to increase its Rural Guard, and to continue to employ the large number of teachers left by the Americans. Indeed, in his last message to Congress, President Palma was able to make a most excellent report upon the progress of the schools, including needed consolidations and the cutting down of the alleged enrolment to real figures of average attendance. Even the *Sun's* correspondent sees clearly that the weak point of the last few years has

been the failure of this republic to foster the industries of the island. He is able to speak enthusiastically about the Cuban people's "patience under adversity, their pluck, their industry, their charity toward each other, and their mutual helpfulness." To them, and not to the United States, belongs the credit of averting predicted disaster. "The special pity of it all is," this writer continues, "that the past year has cost the United States a distinct loss of Cuban confidence and respect." It is gratifying to note that talk of annexation is now being indulged in only by the rich plantation owners. Their motive is too plainly that of personal gain.

The municipal election in Chicago was nearly a drawn battle, for although Mayor Harrison is reelected, his previous majority of 28,000 has been much cut down. The Republicans put their best foot forward when they nominated Mr. Graeme Stewart. Mayor Harrison is quoted as saying after the returns were in, that he regarded the election as a victory for municipal ownership and for the referendum, rather than as a personal triumph for himself. It may be so, and yet Mr. Stewart might have made a similar claim if he had been the successful candidate. The platform on which he was nominated called for legislation which would enable the city "to own and operate street railways and other public utilities," the question of exercising the power to be submitted to the people. The Democratic platform did not differ materially from this. Thus we may assume that Chicago is committed to municipal ownership of public utilities, so far as voting can commit a city. It is perhaps fortunate that the municipality is short of money, and is so hampered by a debt limit that an amendment of the State Constitution will be required to carry the plan into effect. In St. Louis the election resulted in a signal triumph of the Democratic machine which has so long held the city captive, and against which Circuit Attorney Folk has made so splendid a fight in the courts of justice. None of the convicts nominated by Mr. Folk for the State Prison, however, were put up by their party for any other office at this election. Yet, though both parties named good men for the Council, the House of Delegates is stuffed again with representatives of the boodlers. Every candidate endorsed by Mr. Folk was defeated. A very poor showing this as a preliminary to the opening of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

A primary election under the new direct-nominations law has resulted in the selection of an anti-machine man as the Republican candidate for Mayor of Baltimore. He had no organization behind him, merely announcing his candidacy and making a personal canvass for the

nomination. On the Democratic side, the candidate of Boss Rasin secured the Mayoralty nomination, but in at least one Council district the choice of the primary was a man who made his canvass in the face of machine opposition. These are the results which the advocates of the direct primary have ardently hoped for and confidently predicted. They are certainly more favorable than those recorded in Minnesota, where the notorious "Doc" Ames was a successful candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis at the time of the first experiment. Further details of the Baltimore primary will be awaited with great interest. New Jersey is also to furnish an opportunity for renewed observation of the system. A law enacted by the Legislature which lately adjourned, provides for the nomination of candidates within small political divisions by the direct primary system, and also for choosing in a similar manner delegates who in convention will nominate candidates for the more important offices. This is a variation of the Minneapolis system, but the essential features are retained.

A new libel law, protested against by almost every newspaper in Pennsylvania, has just been passed by the Legislature of that State, and is now before the Governor. The aim of the measure is to protect the pure patriots attached to the dominant party in Pennsylvania from criticism or ridicule, by cartoon or otherwise, in the public press. It prescribes punitive damages to heal the wounds of statesmen whose lapses of conduct are made the subject of the satire of the newspaper artist, and, in the words of a Philadelphia newspaper, strikes a blow at a free press by "opening the door for speculative shysters and unprincipled curbstone followers who may set up factitious complaints." The Republican Philadelphia Press calls loudly upon the Governor to veto the bill. Of course he may do so, but he has already shown himself in sympathy with something of the sort. In his first annual message he alluded feelingly to the injustice of criticism of men in high station. Indeed, the descriptions of this bill sound to us very much like echoes of his initial state paper. Opposition to the bill seems especially ungracious to Quay, the reformer. When he took his new vows he had a right to expect better treatment from the newspapers. If they do not accord it to him, what wonder that his Legislature seeks to compel them?

Three business agents of labor unions in this city are under indictment for corrupt practices; in two other cases District Attorney Jerome has proved to his own satisfaction that money has been paid to labor leaders to have grievances "called off"; and in another the District Attorney has produced conclusive evi-

dence of the guilt of a union official. These are the facts upon which a committee of the Central Federated Union bases its report that charges of irregularities on the part of labor leaders have utterly failed of substantiation. It is true that in the three instances last mentioned the District Attorney does not hope to secure convictions in the courts, owing to the timidity of witnesses or the lack of complete legal evidence. But it would seem to us that the information furnished by Mr. Jerome was enough to urge the labor committee very definitely upon inquiry. It is not likely that they really desire to uphold corrupt representatives merely because thus far they have been able to evade the sheriff. Yet this would be a natural inference from the report submitted on Sunday. The Central Federated Union should realize, if its committee does not, that mere whitewashing of walking delegates and other leaders will not do.

Union against union is the formula that explains the strike of some 9,000 carpenters and joiners in this city. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, a powerful national body, aims to put the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, a local organization with 2,000 members, out of business. The Brotherhood has absolutely no grievance against any employer on the ground of wages and hours of labor. It strikes because it will allow no "Brother" to work on any job with which a member of the Amalgamated Society is associated. This phenomenon of rival unions is most interesting. It seems to show, first, that the union business is too profitable to permit of monopoly; second, that labor does not as yet trust any union sufficiently to make it sole agent for any trade. The unions can afford to fight it out comfortably and to a finish if, like the Plasterers' their constitutions provide that in case of a dispute with an employer he must pay all the unionists for their "waiting time." Both these Carpenters' unions belong to the American Federation of Labor.

Combinations adjudged to be in restraint of trade are not confined to corporation mergers, as the master plumbers of St. Louis have just discovered. The Association of Master Plumbers was organized, as the local court, under instructions from the Court of Appeals, has decided, in violation of the anti-trust law. The specific offences were attempts to fix prices, and to restrict the sale of plumbers' supplies to master plumbers only. The suit was brought by a workman who was unable to secure materials, and the decree of the court is that the association must be dissolved. Thus we learn that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. As

there are hundreds of similar associations throughout the country, the influence of the decision, which appears to be based on excellent reasoning, is likely to be far-reaching.

Mr. Henry James, as an admitted expert on the expatriated American, should be called in to settle a case that is troubling our consular service. The question in brief is, When is an American citizen no longer an American citizen? The Consul at Quito finds that business men who speak not a word of English, have lived for forty years or more in South America, and meanwhile have maintained no relations of any sort with the United States, flaunt their American citizenship, and in time of disorder claim the protection of the American flag. Consuls, habituated to all manner of absurd and illegitimate appeals, hardly know what to do in such cases. They cannot afford to treat an American citizen like an impostor, and they naturally do not wish to treat an impostor like an American citizen. In a lesser degree the same condition of things prevails at every large consulate in Europe. The Consul and the generally needy and frequently doubtful American are seldom long parted. No remedy immediately suggests itself, though patience and a sense of humor will alleviate such consular troubles. Possibly as our population becomes less homogeneous and such dangerous elements as the foreign criminal societies are added to the ranks of mere swindlerdom, we shall have to forego some of our happy-go-lucky republican ways and adopt such European fixings as the card of identification, and some form of registration for travellers. The present passport does not help our consuls much. It is too easily obtained by any applicant.

The International Agricultural Congress at Rome turns out to be, in part at least, a high-tariff convention to protect the wheat growers of Continental Europe against American grain and meats. At all events, that is the significance of it, in the view of the leading German representative, Count von Schwerin-Loewitz, who said in an interview on Monday that he contemplated a common understanding between European countries to safeguard their agricultural interests by means of protective tariffs. These tariffs, he thought, should be based on differences in the natural conditions of production. By this he meant that if the cost of producing wheat in America was two-thirds of the cost in Germany, then the German producer should be protected by a duty of 33 per cent., and that the percentage should be computed for each country and the tariff fixed in each accordingly. This would not imply a European Zollverein, yet it would be necessary for each country to

act on the principle of the Zollverein, since otherwise American wheat might be introduced into Holland or Italy at low rates, or free of duty, and consumed there, and a corresponding amount of Dutch or Italian wheat be shipped to Germany, to the discomfiture of the Agrarians of the latter country. We remark in passing that this theory of cost of production is the same that was announced by President Roosevelt in his speech at Chicago the other day, except that the latter referred more particularly to manufacturing industry. Mr. Roosevelt said that the difference in cost of production was the true measure of the Republican tariff system, and he assimilated this to the cost of labor, but he did not say how this difference should be computed and reduced to figures.

Chancellor von Bülow's recent boast that Germany is of all European Powers the most eligible for alliances, seems to find ironical confirmation in the report that with Germany, France and England are to control the Bagdad Railway. In this settlement of a long disputed question, one can only see a desire on the part of France and England to limit the ascendancy of Germany in Asia Minor. France has little but a sentimental interest in this enterprise as traditional protector of the Holy Land; Germany has the stake of a great and growing trade, as well as a diplomatic position as friend of the Porte; England has prospective commercial gains to consider, and has every interest in a road which strategically touches the Russian lines of advance towards the Persian Gulf. Regarded from any point of view, it is a strange partnership—complicated at the outset by the relations of France and Russia, and subject to all manner of confusion should the Russo-German *entente*, into which Bismarck entered regardless of existing treaties, ever be renewed. The tripartite management is no more likely to be stable than the receivership of Egypt under an international commission, and this time it may not be England that will enjoy the honor and emoluments of surviving partner.

The complete collapse of the general strike in Holland is something of a surprise to those who have watched it gathering through many weeks. It appears now that the General Committee of the laborers' unions merely took a desperate chance in the hope of heading off Premier Kuyper's anti-unionist bills. The firm attitude of Parliament in enacting these laws in the face of a general strike has apparently taken the heart out of the labor leaders, who have had the grace to withdraw an empty proclamation. Alarmist reports had evidently credited them with greater power than they enjoy. This is clearly

shown by the refusal of many classes of workmen to obey the strike order. Through the imperturbable courage and good sense of the Dutch Parliament and of the Dutch laborer, a very perilous situation has been handled with astonishing promptness and success.

It did not need the death of the Russian Consul at Mitrovitz to make the Macedonian situation critical. It was already so, though the demand of Russia that her slain official be avenged will freshly embarrass the Sultan, and exacerbate a state of affairs which is obviously causing the European Foreign Offices a great deal of anxiety. Mr. Balfour's tone, when last referring to the matter in the House of Commons, was exceedingly grave. Letters from missionaries of the American Board in the troubled region were printed on Saturday, and show how acute the situation is. What is immediately most depressing is the poor success of the programme of reforms, as urged by Russia and Austria and ostensibly accepted by the Porte. On one side is a settled doubt of the Sultan's sincerity; a reforming Sultan is almost a contradiction in terms. This is felt with peculiar conviction by the Albanians and Macedonians, who have had so long an experience of the tender mercies of Turkish rule, and it is their very incredulity and resolution to be quit of the Turk at any cost which, on their side, make the wheels of Austro-Russian reform drive so heavily. The chronic insurrection may be blanketed for the time being, by some such plan; but that the flames can be permanently extinguished in that way, is least believed by those who know most of the unhappy countries torn by the agitation.

For a really business-like Constitution, commend us to the Servian. A ruler suddenly finds that bad laws have been passed. Under any ordinary form of government he would have to await the slow processes of the courts in a Constitutional case, or work for repeal. All this means time and trouble, and the results at best are uncertain. Where should we be to-day if the Supreme Court had given one more voice against the insular bills? They do things better in Servia. King Alexander finds that Parliament has passed too liberal suffrage laws. Where a mere President must grin and bear it, the Servian monarch abrogates the Constitution for about five minutes, turns out all the offending councillors and lawmakers, and provides for new, denounces the distasteful laws by proclamation, and then proclaims the Constitution once more. All this has an unmistakable—a fairly Balkanic—directness, beside which our habit of passing unconstitutional laws, in the hope that the Supreme Court will decide for the *status quo*, seems cheap and shuffling.

THE MERGER CASE.

Divested of all technicalities, the question presented to the United States Circuit Court in the so-called merger case was whether the union of the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroads, by whatever means accomplished, was in conflict with the anti-Trust law passed by Congress in 1890. If it was so, then the combination was null and void, and was liable to be resolved into its original elements, while the persons engaged in it as promoters and participants were punishable at the discretion of the court by fine and imprisonment. The Circuit Court has decided that the combination was of this very kind. An appeal will be taken to the Supreme Court, but there is small probability that the judgment will be reversed. The Circuit Court rests its decision in this case mainly on decisions of the superior tribunal in previous cases which are considered substantially parallel.

The anti-Trust act was reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate on March 21, 1890, on which day Senator Sherman, the Chairman of the Committee, made a speech explanatory of its provisions. He asserted that the aim of the measure was to declare unlawful the trade combinations usually called Trusts, and to prevent them from monopolizing various articles of common necessity, or from putting prices up and down at their own pleasure, to the detriment of the community. It has been assumed by certain persons since the decision was rendered in the Northern Securities case, that the anti-Trust act of 1890 was not intended by Congress to be applied to railways at all, but only to industrial Trusts. The intentions of Congress in passing laws are to be learned from the laws themselves, though in cases where the interpretation of a statute is open to doubt the debates may sometimes prove useful by throwing light upon dark places. Since no exception was made of railways in the terms of the act, they are necessarily included in its prohibitions and penalties; but, as a matter of fact, Senator Sherman, in his opening speech on the bill at the date mentioned, referred to monopolies of transportation as though they were embraced in it. Thus he said: "If the combination affects interstate transportation, or is aided in any way by a transportation company, it falls clearly within the power of Congress, and the remedy should be aimed at the corporations embraced in it, and should be swift and sure." Another point, much discussed both in the arguments of counsel and in the opinion of the court, was anticipated by Senator Sherman in his introductory speech—the point relating to the intentions of the parties to the merger. The Senator said that the intention of those who form such combinations is immaterial. The intention of a corporation cannot be

proved. "It is the tendency of a corporation and not the intention that the courts can deal with."

There is one element in the case, over and above its narrow legal features, which points strongly to the affirmation of the opinion just rendered. It relates to the practical results of the merger as a part of railway development, if it goes on unchecked. If a holding company can bind together the three railroads named, is there any limit to such combinations? It is well known that while this combine was in the process of formation, the Union Pacific people were reaching out for the Northern Pacific, and very nearly acquired it. They came so near getting it that the opposing party thought it best to make concessions to them instead of pushing them to extremity. In fact, the Union Pacific interest is even now represented on the Board of Directors of the Northern Securities Company.

The moral to be drawn from the situation is that there is no limit to such mergers except the inclination of the parties in control. Another New Jersey company can be formed to take over the stock of the Northern Securities Company, and of the Union Pacific and its belongings, including the Southern Pacific. This might fitly be called the Central Securities Company. It would control all the trunk lines to the Pacific Coast except one. This one could, of course, be obtained on some terms, and then the monopoly would be complete. Nor is there any apparent reason why mergers should stop when they reach the Pacific Coast. It is as easy to merge eastward as westward. Prudence might suggest that merging should stop short of a consolidation of all the railroads in the country, but the question whether it should have any assignable limits would be a question of profits only. Mr. Morgan and Mr. Hill will not hold their hands if they think that Mr. Schiff and Mr. Harriman may get ahead of them. Conversely, Schiff and Harriman will not be good if they suspect evil of their rivals and competitors, in the business of preparing undigested securities for the American and European public. Hence the future to be faced by the courts, by Congress, and by the people is that of a merger of railroads without any assignable limits. Confronted by such possibilities, we need not wonder that the court sitting at St. Louis rendered the decision now before us.

Not only did these menacing facts and prospects tell strongly against the Northern Securities Company, but the presentation of the law by Attorney-General Knox and his assistant, Mr. Beck, was extremely cogent. Their argument was so arranged as not to strike at other interests, where it was possible to avoid them. The Government's case was not handicapped by unnecessary weight, and yet it omitted nothing essential to

success on the main point of dissolving the illegal combination. The law officers of the Government are to be congratulated on a notable victory gained against very able men, backed by a combination of railway capital in excess of one billion dollars—the largest, perhaps, that the world has ever seen. To President Roosevelt this is much the greatest success, not merely accidental, that he has ever gained. It was an accident that made him President, but it was no accident that he directed the powers of the Government into the channel which it took in this judicial proceeding. The United States could alone take the initiative in challenging the legal status of the Northern Securities Company, and it lay in his power to set the machinery in motion to that end, or to withhold it. It is a matter of doubt whether the political bosses who favored Mr. Roosevelt's nomination as Vice-President in order to get rid of him as Governor of New York would do their job the same way again.

There is no reason to suppose that the owners of shares in the Northern Securities Company will lose any money by the dissolution of the company. The underlying securities which they will receive in exchange are of exactly the same value as their present holding. The income derivable from the one class is the same as from the other. Therefore, any apprehensions of financial disturbance from that quarter may be set at rest. A more important question is how far the present decision, if affirmed by the Supreme Court, may be applicable to other mergers. Upon this point it is impossible for anybody to speak with authority, since circumstances are likely to vary more or less in each case.

In the *Political Science Quarterly* of December last Mr. H. T. Newcomb published a long catalogue of railway mergers, which derives fresh interest from the decision in the Northern Securities case. The control of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, for example, was acquired by the Reading Company (not the Reading Railway Company) in 1901 by the purchase of a majority of the shares of the former. The purchase was paid for in cash, which was obtained by issuing collateral trust bonds secured by the purchased shares and by a small amount of other property. The Reading Company controls the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company through the ownership of its stock. In 1898, the New York Central Railroad Company obtained substantially all the stock of the Lake Shore Railroad Company by exchanging therefor its collateral trust bonds. These were not, however, parallel and competing roads. The New York Central had previously acquired the Harlem and the West Shore Roads, both of which were competing lines, but operating in only one State. In 1885, the Lake Shore Railroad acquired the New York, Chicago

and St. Louis (the Nickel Plate), a parallel and competing line, operating in three States. The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad in 1898 acquired the New England, a parallel and competing line in three States. The Louisville and Nashville has lately been absorbed by the Atlantic Coast Line. The means by which mergers are accomplished are various: by the purchase of the shares of one company by another; by the leasing of one company by another; and by the creation of a "holding company" to purchase the shares of two or more companies and to lease others. It would seem as though all of these methods of merger were alike obnoxious to the anti-Trust law of Congress, if the roads were parallel and competing and were engaged in interstate commerce.

NO PHILIPPINE "FLINCHING."

President Roosevelt's latest speech on Philippine policy shows that, in the main, he is in accord with the majority of Americans. They feel, as he does, that the subject is a most disagreeable and painful one. Like him, they cast about to find excuses for having violated in the Philippines all their professed principles of humanity and liberty. Only, as he is a rather more ingenuous man than the average of his countrymen, and does his thinking aloud a little more impetuously, he is in danger of pushing the argument further than it can fairly be made to go. He did this in his Fargo speech April 7. Advancing beyond any of his predecessors in apology, and even beyond his own previous utterances, he maintained, not simply that our course in the Philippines was necessary, though unpleasant, not merely that it was really good for the Filipinos, though they might not think so, but that it is exactly what their national leaders really wanted. But this, we submit, is to add insult to injury. It is also to fly in the face of history.

The President cites the language of José Rizal, in 1896, protesting against the rebellion then directed against Spain, and saying that, while he desired "liberty for our country," he desired first a "development of the people." There, said Mr. Roosevelt, you have exactly our "avowed policy" in the Philippines. The martyred Filipino hero was sighing for what "American sovereignty" is doing. The true leaders of the people, the President implies, did not desire Filipino independence. But, to say nothing else of this contention, it is a flagrant case of special pleading. Mr. Roosevelt "claims to be an historian," he has said. As such he knows something about the way popular movements often pass beyond the first intent or avowals of their promoters. Because he could quote from Franklin or from John Adams before the Revolutionary war expressions of loyalty to the Eng-

lish crown, would he argue that the American colonies did not really want independence? Because the Republican party in 1860 disclaimed any intention to interfere with slavery in the Southern States, would he maintain that emancipation was not a legitimate Republican policy? It is nothing short of an affront to the Filipinos to tell them to-day that the noble man whose name was on their lips, and the inspiration of whose example was in their hearts, throughout all their ill-fated struggle for independence, was really against independence! Rizal died, like Nathan Hale, regretting that he had not more lives to give for his "beloved country." He was, at any rate, spared the bitterness of living to be told by his conqueror that the "patria adorada" of his passionate "Last Thoughts" was really a foreign sovereignty!

If President Roosevelt truly wished to produce historical evidence of what the educated Filipinos really desired in 1898, why did he not take the testimony of our own naval officers? Paymaster Wilcox and Naval Cadet Sargent travelled extensively through Luzon late in that year. They bore witness to the good order and efficiency of the Government which the natives had set up; said that nearly all the officials were "men of intelligent appearance and conversation"; and added that there was but one sentiment among "the large number of officers, civil and military, and of leading townspeople we have met." "They all declare they will accept nothing short of independence." But historian Roosevelt sweeps all this aside in favor of a detached saying of one man, two years before. He also sweeps aside the fact that the people did develop sufficiently after Rizal's death to set up an independent government at Malolos, which commanded the admiration of Americans who observed its ability and dignity. That nascent republic the Great Republic destroyed. The beginnings of national life in the Philippines we drowned in blood. If Spain had done it, if any monarchy had done it, America would have flamed with indignation, and Theodore Roosevelt would have been foremost in denouncing it as a crime against liberty. But because we were the ones who did it, we have to justify ourselves; and the latest hypocritical way of attempting that is to maintain that we were only doing what the seers and martyrs of Filipino liberty hoped and prayed and bled to accomplish.

All this, the President tells us, was but our "duty" in the Philippines, and from that duty, he adds, "the American people will never flinch." Well, we hope they will never flinch from telling the truth; and what is the truth about the attitude of the great mass of Americans towards the Philippines to-day? Most of them take no interest in the subject whatever. They dismiss it as some-

thing of which they are thoroughly tired, and of which they wish to hear no more. Indifference and neglect are already the lot of the unfortunate islanders, so far as concerns the general sentiment in the United States. And this gives the exploiter and the place-hunter just the opportunity from which they are not in the least "flinching." They are swarming to the archipelago in the spirit which Gen. Chaffee displayed with soldierly bluntness, when he said that he didn't know or care whether the Filipinos hated us, but was sure that the thing for us to do was to wring the last dollar out of them. As for the office-beggars, they are already, as the President knows, taking the position that it is an outrage to give even minor appointments to the Filipino, who, they frankly maintain, is in his own country "nothing but a d--d foreigner."

We, too, believe in a policy of "no flinching" about the Philippines, but the thing we would not flinch from is the hard fact. Let us clear our minds of hypocrisy. Let us say that we are strong enough to do what we like; that we are staying in the Philippines to exploit them; that we do not care a copper what the natives think or wish; and that if anybody interferes with us we will give him a good thrashing. That will be both frank and truthful. So let us march up to it without flinching. We ought to have dregs enough of conscience left, however, to flinch badly when it comes to putting such a Tartuffian gloss upon our conduct as the President attempted at Fargo.

THE POSTAL SCANDALS.

President Roosevelt and his Postmaster-General have a busy season before them if they attempt to calm down, between now and the meeting of Congress in November, the upheaval which has resulted from a quarrel among the lesser dignitaries of the Post-office Department at Washington. The situation there has not been so strained since the days when the notorious commission firm of Brady, Dorsey & Co. conducted under the Department roof their thrifty traffic in Star Route contracts. Then, as now, every responsible man in one branch of the postal service became suddenly afraid of his neighbor, and passed him with a chilly nod rather than be seen in familiar conversation with him; for nobody could guess whose name would be blazoned in the next day's revelations, and isolation and ignorance seemed to be the only isles of refuge. Then, as now, nobody could be induced to "talk," but bureau secrets and private backbitings from no discoverable source found their way every few hours into the public prints.

All accounts agree that the present trouble is not of mushroom growth. It is merely the eruptive culmination of a

disorder which has been going on beneath the surface for years. Gossip has long been rife with the good name of the Department, and veiled hints have been thrown out here and there as to the dreadful things that would be disclosed if a serious investigation should ever be set on foot. Clerks who have persistently been refused promotion have assured their friends that they were passed over because they "knew too much," without trying to explain how it happened that they were not expelled from office altogether lest they should add to their stock of fatal knowledge by a longer stay near the fountain-head. Any officer whose salary Congress has raised, has become at once a target for ambush fire from brother officers not likewise favored, since they could see in his good fortune only a sign that he must have connived at fraud with the lawmakers who engineered the increase, and was drawing his extra pay as hush money in instalments. Naturally, such comments, if they reached the ears of their objects, provoked appropriate retorts. Thus, from the top to the bottom of the Department, an antiphony of crimination and recrimination has been maintained, always in whispers, always by innuendo, to the demoralization of the service and the disgust of the listeners outside.

In justice to all concerned, it should be said that nothing thus far brought to light wears quite the vulgarly felonious aspect of the Star Route exposure. But in such matters ordinary citizens do not draw subtle distinctions. To them the fact that a man close to the seat of authority is interested in a corporation with shares of stock to sell, and that men and women whose livelihood may be dependent on his favor are found subscribing for these shares, is almost as disagreeable as a well-defined case of blackmail. If they learn that one manufacturer of postal supplies is patronized because he has "done right by the party," at the expense of other manufacturers who were only trying to do right by the public, the circumstance wears an ugly look. Prove to them that letter-carriers and delivery routes have been ladled out with great liberality to the districts where they will do the most good when the Department next goes in quest of favors from Congress, and they will condemn the practice, in spite of protestations that all dealings between the executive and legislative branches of the Government are conducted on the give-and-take basis. Show them that a post-office building has been rented of A at \$100 a year more than B would have charged for equally good quarters, because A could bring a certificate from the party boss in his State that he had subscribed handsomely to the campaign fund, and those indiscriminating moralists, the common people, will not hesitate to denounce it as stealing.

It is such a state of affairs which the

investigation now in progress seems to be bringing out. It will convict nobody of a penitentiary offence, but it will be just as damaging in its moral effect as if the whole crew involved could be railroaded to Leavenworth to-morrow. There were vague rumors in the air that the Postmaster-General, who was credited with having entered upon the inquiry reluctantly in the first place, intended to put an effectual damper upon it when he returned to Washington; but he has taken the first opportunity to refute them. However the disturbance may have begun, and regardless of whom it may drag into disagreeable prominence before it has ended, it has gone too far to have an extinguisher applied to it now, even in the interest of administrative harmony and the Republican party's welfare in the next campaign. The time to think of these things was before a Perry Heath was put into virtual command of the patronage of the Department, for the undisguised purpose of having some one at headquarters who knew the secrets of the campaign of 1896, and could tell whose claims to largess should be O.K.'d and whose rejected.

To take one backward step at this stage, no matter what cause might be assigned for it, would be to invite every possible assumption, by the public, of criminality and dishonor. If the Postmaster-General was really more prudent than the President in forecasting the possibilities of the inquiry while it was still under consideration, he can take to himself the poor consolation of saying, "I told you so"; but the work once started must go on to the end. Mr. Payne is too good a politician not to know that the Democrats in the coming session of Congress will be far less complacent in their attitude toward the Administration than they were in the last, when so many were soon to retire from public life and might wish to be remembered when an Opposition berth on some commission was to be filled. By one means or another, they will surely contrive to draw forth enough of the story of this spring's investigation to give a sensational color to their next year's campaign-book; and the Postmaster-General's only chance of meeting such tactics will be to make his own house-cleaning so thorough as to leave nothing for his foes to scrape up after he is done.

HOW TO FIGHT BRIBERY.

That the crime of bribery, electoral and legislative, is on the increase in this country, we have an accumulation of painfully convincing evidence. One deep of shame answereth unto another—Rhode Island to Delaware, Albany to Harrisburg, St. Louis to New York. Men whose right hands are full of bribes sit in the high places of government, go

about the streets with heads erect, are in good repute in society and often in the church. Yet they are confessedly making the very pillars of our public life rotten. Popular elections they are turning into merchandise, and rendering the so-called "will of the people," as expressed at the polls, a thing for corruptionists to sneer at even while they manipulate their purchased voters.

To state the case thus strongly is not to confess it hopeless. Bad as our condition is getting to be, it is as purity itself compared with those sinks of iniquity, the English borough elections of a century or a century and a half ago. Read Franklin's account of the unblushing and colossal bribery in the English electoral contests of the time when he was in London as agent of the colony of Pennsylvania, and you would think that public virtue had ceased to exist. For a later testimony turn to that "Call upon the Clergy" to "come forward and assist in putting an end to Bribery, Corruption, Perjury and all sorts of Infamies," which William Cobbett published in his *Political Register* of December, 1816. His description of the case reads like a letter from darkest Rhode Island or deepest sunk Delaware, but is undoubtedly accurate. Cobbett wrote:

"You know as well as I do that the land is filled with crimes in consequence of the present mode of election. You know that drunkenness, fraud, calumny, bribery, corruption, false swearing, and in short every species of infamy, are produced by this cause, and that, too, in degree and quantity wholly unparalleled in the history of the world. When I was at Honiton, in 1806, many of the wretched voters told me, in the hearing of witnesses now alive, that they knew how wicked it was to do what they did; but that they wanted the money to pay their rents, and that they should be starved if they did otherwise. Some abused me very foully, and said that in advising them to vote uninfluenced by money, I was endeavoring to rob them of their blessing! For this was the term they gave to the money which they were to receive. But, indeed, the bribery and corruption, the frauds and false swearings are too notorious to need particular instances to establish their existence."

England, we know, has shaken herself clear of that slough. She did it by means of Parliamentary Reform, Corrupt Practices Acts, and, above all, by a quickened public sentiment and a stern enforcement of the law at the hands of incorruptible judges. If we could adopt the English plan of having contested elections passed upon, not by Assembly or House of Representatives, but by a judicial commission without partisan bias, it would undoubtedly be a great check to the bribers. In some other respects, we do not doubt, our laws might be made more stringent. It might be enacted, for example, that political committees should be compelled to file an account of their expenses. Candidates might be required not merely to make public the sums they spend, but also to limit themselves, as in England, to a certain figure, varying with the constituency. Any or all improvements in

the laws against bribery we should welcome, provided they are simple, direct, and attainable. But in any complicated scheme offered as a panacea we cannot put our trust. The weakness of the remedy proposed by Gov. Garvin of Rhode Island, in last week's *Independent*, is that it contemplates an involved readjustment of our whole political machinery. If we wait for Constitutional amendments and proportional representation to rid us of the briber, we shall never get him down. Existing laws, if rigidly executed, would make prison doors yawn for him and all his abettors and beneficiaries.

To enforce the laws we have, rather than to fly to others that we know not of, is the first public duty of those who would set fire to the "tabernacles of bribery." We are glad to hear that such is the aim of those citizens of Rhode Island who are stung by the revelation of their State's shame and alarmed by her peril, and who, with the coöperation of the clergy and the college professors, are about to open a campaign against the corruption which stalks through their commonwealth. Prison stripes on a few of the agents of boss or candidate, punishment and ignominy for some who sit in public places only to take bribes and pervert judgment, would have a wonderfully clarifying and tonic effect. But neither in Rhode Island nor anywhere else must we make the mistake of striking at the tool and forgetting the principal. It is well that the agent of bribery should not go unwhipped, but what is to be done to the man who both provokes the corruption and profits by it?

Here is the opportunity for public opinion to wreak itself in a way more terrible than statutory punishment. Suppose a moral sentiment could be created throughout the land which would look upon every hole-and-corner briber, every petty corruptor, every local perverter of the suffrage, every retail purchaser of legislation, just as all decent men (even President Roosevelt, at last) have come to look upon Addicks. Of what avail would it be to them, then, to buy their way politically if they had to face on every hand the loathing of all who met them? This is the great weapon against the briber which the honest people of the land have in their own hand. Only, they must wield it unsparingly. When they read in the cynical confession of Boss Brayton that it is the protected manufacturers of Rhode Island who furnish the bribe-money, they must condemn and ostracize the men who give corruptly, as well as those who spend or receive corruptly. The United States Senator from Rhode Island, or from New York, or Ohio, who wins his seat as the undoubted beneficiary of wholesale corruption, must be put in the stocks alongside Addicks. They are all of a kind. And with them must be classed

the men, no matter how high they stand in the financial or philanthropic or religious world, who put money into the hands of known corruptionists to obtain legislative favors. They are all tarred with bribery, and its heaviest penalties ought to fall on them. Only thus, by laying judgment to the line and righteousness to the plummet, by exposing and opposing every man, high or low, who has the smirch upon him, can we effectively fight and foil the briber.

MEMORIAL TO EDWIN L. GODKIN.

The files of the *Nation* would be incomplete if they did not contain the following letter, which President Eliot communicated to his colleagues of the Corporation of Harvard College on March 30:

NEW YORK, March 18, 1903.

To the President and Fellows of Harvard College:

Some of the friends of the late Edwin L. Godkin have desired to express their admiration and gratitude for his long and disinterested service to the country of his adoption by some suitable memorial, which should perpetuate his name, and stimulate that spirit of independent thought and unselfish devotion to the public good which characterized his life and distinguished his career.

In view of his scholarly tastes and acquirements, the establishment in some learned university of an annual lecture, or lectures, upon subjects to which he had devoted a large portion of his life, seemed peculiarly appropriate.

An appeal for contributions—very limited in extent—brought an immediate and gratifying response from persons of the highest character, indicative of the estimation in which Mr. Godkin and his work were held; and while the list of contributors included many of Mr. Godkin's friends, it included also many others not in general sympathy with his opinions, greatly enhancing the value of their tribute.

In the selection of a university to administer the gift, it was natural that the one should be chosen—itsself an advocate of free speech and liberal thought—in which he was so well known and so highly regarded.

The undersigned, on behalf of the contributors, now have the honor of tendering to the President and Fellows of Harvard College the fund collected for this object—now in excess of \$10,000. They leave its administration entirely to the discretion of the University, imposing no conditions other than that the income be used in providing for the delivery and publication of lectures upon "The Essentials of Free Government and the Duties of the Citizen," or upon some part of that subject, such lectures to be called "The Godkin Lectures," and of which there shall be at least one in every year.

It is our understanding, however, that no permanent appointment of a lecturer be made, and that the duty be not assigned to persons connected with the University—although such connection shall not be deemed a disqualification—but that the opportunity be employed from time to time

to procure from varied and perhaps distant quarters lecturers of the highest distinction.

Enclosed will be found the check of Charles H. Marshall, Esq., the Treasurer of the Committee, for the sum of \$10,500, and some subscriptions now unpaid will be hereafter forwarded.

We also forward a list of the contributors to the fund.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully yours,

(Signed) JAMES C. CARTER,
HENRY C. POTTER,
HORACE WHITE,
JOHN L. CADWALADER,
CHARLES H. MARSHALL,
Committee.

Charles Francis Adams, a member of the Committee, is now in Europe; for that reason his name is not attached.

The Corporation "Voted, that the fund to maintain 'The Godkin Lectures' be gratefully accepted on the terms and for the uses set forth in the above letter of gift."

The selection of Harvard College, it might have been pointed out by the Committee, had a specific fitness in view of the honorary degree conferred by that institution in 1871 on the founder of the *Nation*, then just completing its sixth year. It was Mr. Godkin's personal friends at Harvard whose active interest procured the necessary capital for the launching of his enterprise, and this journal has from the first been privileged to draw freely upon the best spirits and intellects of the oldest seat of learning in the country. The fund now bestowed and accepted will pay back the debt in a manner redounding to the just fame of Mr. Godkin and to the usefulness of the University. The prophet has not been without honor among his own kindred; and his works will follow him.

The raising of the fund and its acceptance set a seal upon character of no little import in a time of reaction from Mr. Godkin's ideals and striving. It would be easy to point to men—Harvard men, scholars, prominent in public life—to whom Mr. Godkin's name is anathema; who have never forgiven, and never will forgive, his preaching and illustration of independence of party; who regard his "Mugwumpism" with an abhorrence not to be excited by any symptom of party dry-rot, of that stealthy infiltration of the forms of republican government with the juices of oligarchy and corruption—a process analogous to fossilization, but which is far deadlier than a dull and stupid conservatism. It is something to have such detractors reminded that their Alma Mater became Mr. Godkin's, *honoris causa*, twenty years ago, and now engages to carry on his life-work in perpetuity.

In no country, however governed, will the theme prescribed for the Godkin Lectures ever become supererogatory. In the American republic it is a burning theme. The breakdown of the representative system with the growth of population; the practical abolition of popu-

lar nomination to office; the well-nigh universal failure to regard office first of all as a public trust; the shocking lapse of faith in the principles of the brotherhood of man enunciated in the Declaration; the spread of commercialism and the rise of the rich to the control of the Legislature; the intolerant and violent extension of protectionism through the trade-union—these are some of the phenomena in the presence of which the honest citizen has to ask himself not only, What ought I to do? but, What *can* I do? May the Godkin Lectures bring him help in this perplexity. May they direct the student's attention away from the Soldiers' Field to the sterner discipline of the closet in sober reflection upon current evils and current tendencies. May they also stimulate Harvard's undergraduates to aspire to as glorious a career in public journalism as the Founder's. If every gentleman's sword should have leaped from its scabbard to defend Marie Antoinette, much more should Mr. Godkin's inspiration for a whole generation have drawn to him battalions of young men eager to work beside him. That it did not, that they came not singly even—we mean with a conscious purpose in the choice of a profession while shaping their college education—is a mystery much to be wondered at and *valde defendum*.

TELEPATHY.

CAMBRIDGE, April 4, 1903.

On the Italian side of the Alps there is a little chapel which is a type of many others scattered on the slope of the mountains. Its bell has for ages called together the peasants for their morning and evening devotions. It has its shrines for votive offerings, and its precious relics before which one can see the devout worshippers with countenances pathetically wrought with religious fervor. Around the picture of a saint are crutches and canes, mute testimonials of the cures wrought by an enduring presence in the minds of the believers. In the Middle Ages the only light before the altar was a dim taper. Now an electric light swings before the shrine, fed from a far distant waterfall, almost in the clouds, nourished from the eternal snows. My friend and I had been reflecting upon the possibility of transmitting energy from such abundant sources over the entire continent of Europe, and, as we rested in a corner of the chapel, my companion pointed to the electric lamp, and remarked that men in the Middle Ages would have regarded the possibility of lighting the chapel from a distant waterfall, by a mysterious influence transmitted over wires, much as the cynic now regards the possibility of telepathic communication with friends in China. "Just as the humble peasant," said my friend, "puts herself in spiritual communication with a higher power, so may we not find a way to telepath to minds that are attuned to ours?"

The thought thus expressed is in the minds of most of our acquaintances; and when we reason with them and apparently convince them of a lack of evidence, the

conversation generally ends by their relation of a marvellous tale of telepathic communication which has happened to them, or more often to a friend, and the story is told with a frank disregard of the laws of evidence. The late advances in the subject of wireless telegraphy has led to a greater confidence in the truth of telepathy. One often hears the remark, "Why is the possibility of the communion of one mind with another without the use of electricity more marvellous than wireless telegraphy?"

It must be confessed at the outset that there is at present no evidence of telepathic communication which would be accepted in a court of law in regard to property, or in a scientific laboratory. The evidence which is adduced and submitted to societies of psychical research cannot be compared with that of the simplest analysis of a chemical compound, or that which gave men the suspicion of the electric action excited by the motion of a magnet. I shall return presently to the fallibility of so-called psychic evidence; at present I wish to dwell upon the utter lack of history in the subject of telepathy as a scientific fact. It is one of the chief characteristics of a science that it has a history, and no subject can arise to the dignity of a science unless it has at least the rudiments of a history. Wireless telegraphy has a past, and is the result of the patient study of almost countless facts, gathered by thousands of workers in laboratories. These facts and phenomena can be studied and the phenomena can be repeated by any skilled person. Telepathy has no history, and if it should be ascertained to-morrow that it is possible, it will be the first instance in the history of science of the discovery of a new manifestation of energy or of a new law of nature which had not been preceded by the patient study of repeatable phenomena. It is therefore safe to prophesy that telepathy will not be a fact until it has a history of repeatable phenomena.

It would seem that abundant opportunity has been offered for the accumulation of reasonable evidence of the action of one mind on another during the past hundred years of active intellectual scientific inquiry. Moreover, the hosts of card players, since the beginning of the powers of ratiocination in man, have been in an attitude of interested attention in regard to the action of one mind on another. Telepathic communication would be of great advantage to the gambler, and to the speculator who plays a larger game on the Stock Exchange. However the latter may romance in regard to telepathy at the club, he never relies upon it where dollars and cents are involved.

We must confess that there is no science in the subject of telepathy; it is a belief. When we examine the grounds of this belief, we naturally ask ourselves, How do we communicate with kindred spirits with even the full use of our faculties of seeing and hearing? Do we not judge of a friend's opinion more by the tones of his voice, the lifting of the eyebrows, the gestures of the hands, than even by his words? When he rings us up on the telephone, we gather his meaning by the accumulated memories of the look which habitually accompanies his speech—his smile, whether it be cynical or optimistic. Two deaf, dumb, and blind persons are not conscious of proximity except from the

sense of touch. When we express a belief in telepathy, we indulge in a hypothesis of an occult radiation of vibration of a mind cell, far off in China, perhaps, which can affect another mind cell at the antipodes; and we profess a belief that this radiation, like that employed in wireless telegraphy, can set a mind cell in action and communicate the senses of sight, hearing, and the tactile sense. Otherwise, how can we recognize a friend or penetrate his meaning? This is a large hypothesis; it is not in consonance with scientific thought; it belongs to the realm of demonology and witchcraft. Remember, we are not stating our conviction that telepathy is not possible; we are merely saying that if telepathy becomes an acknowledged fact to-morrow, it will be an unprecedented fact in the history of the scientific advance of the human race. There are, doubtless, more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy; psychic philosophy seems to have taken these words to heart, and is more than ready to substitute intuitions for strenuous scientific investigation. It must be remembered that there are no limits to scientific inquiry, but there are fatal limits to metaphysical speculation.

My friend, while we rested in the little chapel, dwelt upon the dim beginnings of all sciences, the mystical awakenings to the realization of the presence of new phenomena. He dwelt upon Faraday's seeking for the evidence of invisible lines of force seeming to stretch out from wires along which an electric current flows. We now know that such invisible lines emanate from Marconi's masts, and, passing through empty space, hold in their embrace the distant receiving mast. "Is not," said my friend, "the groping of Faraday to discover such lines of force like the groping of the psychical philosophers to discover the evidences of telepathy?" I answered: "There is no scientific resemblance between the methods of inquiry. Faraday consulted the history of preceding phenomena, and used instruments which had been perfected by systematic study, and without which his discoveries would have been impossible. Moreover, he was trained in scientific observation, and understood that when he entered his laboratory he must leave his intuitions with his coat and hat outside, together with his imagination—both, it may be, to be taken up on leaving, but never to be allowed in the strict limits of the workshop."

My friend, more than half a believer in telepathy, remarked: "Have there not been accidental discoveries? Did not Daguerre discover by accident the wonderful art of photography? Is telepathy stranger than the property of silver to hold for years an invisible image of a friend on what seems to the eye an absolutely blank surface; yes, to hold it for centuries in a sarcophagus on the bosom of a mummy, to be revealed by merely pouring a fluid over it?" Did not Röntgen find a mysterious image on such a photographic plate which had been exposed by accident to the mysterious light from an electric discharge?"

"It is true," I replied, "that many phenomena have been discovered by accident; but only those which have been recognized by scientific observers, or, what is much the same, skilful observers, have come to fruition. An untrained man would, doubt-

less, have attributed Daguerre's phenomenon to the spirits. Daguerre's method of following up the accidental discovery is much to my point. Having left a plate of silver exposed in his dark room for some hours, being interrupted by a caller—the blind instrument of fate sometimes called a bore—he returned, and, to his surprise, found an image on the plate. It had evidently been formed by something in the dark room. He proceeded laboriously to try every chemical or substance there was on his shelves, without effect; he then got down on his hands and knees and searched the floor. In a corner he observed some globules of mercury. He had arrived at the end of his research. Mercury was the substance which had quickly brought out the mysterious image. Röntgen also was a skilled observer, and his study of the accident is a model of accurate observation. The accident was followed by the scientific method of patient inquiry. How many accidents have fallen to men who have not seen their import! How many have come to men who have been intellectually asleep! Hawthorne, with his wonderful insight, has, in an allegory, depicted the opportunities that were offered to the sleeping youth, and the allegory fits the intuitional man who has no training to follow up an observation."

My friend was not converted by my reasoning, and I continued in a somewhat intolerant manner, using unguardedly the word Science in speaking of telepathic science. "I use the word 'Science,'" I explained, "for, under the name of 'absent treatment,' it is called science by certain persons. Absent treatment presents in a concrete form the popular belief in the action of one mind on another at a distance. It assumes what is totally unproved, and its believers employ the word 'Science' to give respectability and credence to what has no claim to be called a science. Absent treatment is credulity masquerading in the garb of Science."

Telepathy has no instruments for measurements; it has no reagents; it has no history of past phenomena leading up to a possibility. Its believers carry their intuitions into their study rooms, or what takes the place of laboratories. It is a subject generally in the hands of persons discredited as trained observers. The only methods of inquiry are listening to the stories of hallucinations, and what may be called the postal-card method of collecting information—a method which permits the romancing correspondent full scope, and results in the collection of a large amount of fallacious statistics. What weight should be given to the answers of untrained observers whose antecedents, early education, and environment are unknown to the collector of such statistics? Reflections upon the possibility of telepathic communication leads one in general to scrutinize severely the weight of evidence presented by the believers. Let us, for instance, contrast the evidence for the true value for the specific gravity of lead with the evidence for telepathy. Scores of scientific observers have measured the weight of lead in comparison with that of water, and have compared their results with the strictest impartiality. The faults of the instruments employed in the measurements are given, and complete information is afforded of the means that are taken to

arrive at a result which shall not be influenced in the slightest degree by the personality of the observer. There has been no secrecy, no claims for the mystical effect of moods. Compare this method with that of the psychical observer who brings forward telepathic evidence. Suppose this evidence consists of a message between friends separated by seas and continents. In the first place, is the probability of coincidences given due weight? Is the astronomical difference in time between the places calculated? In order to be scientifically accurate, one must be able to measure this time to at least the thousandth of a second, and this measurement cannot be made by the ordinary psychical observers. How much credence can be given to what is called corroborative evidence, such as the description of a witness at the deathbed and the conversation of those present? How much of this is subsequent celebration; and what care has been taken to prevent the unconscious collusion of the witnesses and the romancing after the event?

Scientific men are sometimes counted among the believers in telepathy. We must remember that laboratory investigation is so strenuous that many men who have made their reputations by accurate work, in advancing years abandon labors which yield at the best small, though precious, returns, for they find it easier to philosophize and to write out their thoughts than to put them to the test of experiment. When a scientific man takes to such work in psychics and philosophy, the death knell of his scientific career is rung.

My friend and I left the little chapel on the Italian side of the Alps; he with still a belief in telepathy, and I with the reputation of being more or less of a materialist. I have grown to regard this term as one more or less complimentary to one's discriminating faculty.

JOHN TROWBRIDGE.

MADAME DE STAËL AND NAPOLEON.—II.

PARIS, March 25, 1903.

On the 8th of May, 1802, the powers of General Bonaparte were prolonged for ten years. "This is the first step towards royalty," said Madame de Staël; "I am afraid that this man is like the gods of Homer: in three steps he will attain Olympus." The plébiscite of August 2, 1802, made Napoleon Consul for life. He was no longer the nominee of the Chambers, he was the nominee of the nation. At the instigation of Madame de Staël, Camille Jordan wrote a pamphlet on "The True Meaning of the National Vote." Necker published a book, "Latest Views of Politics and Finance," in which he proposed to establish constitutional laws, and expressed alarms on the progress of Prætorian ideas. Napoleon, on receiving Necker's book, exclaimed: "Never shall Necker's daughter come back to Paris." She was at the time at Coppet. The prefect of Geneva received orders not to give her a passport for Paris. She was writing her novel 'Delphine.' When it appeared in December, 1802, it had a prodigious success; in her preface, she addressed herself to "silent France." There was still an Opposition, chiefly in the salons; and to read 'Delphine' became a sign of opposition. Napoleon, who had France with him, never had Paris quite on his

side. He said: "I hope that the friends of Madame de Staël have advised her not to come to Paris; I should be obliged to have her conducted to the frontier by the gendarmes." He passed a severe judgment on the novel—"mental disorder, metaphysical sentiment, shocking mixture of love and religiosity, an appeal to insurrection against all social rules." Madame de Staël was a disciple of Rousseau; she held it as an axiom that the rights of society cannot be placed above the rights of the individual. Her heroine is in revolt against all social rules. Napoleon wished to reestablish order everywhere. Though he did afterwards divorce Josephine, he was an open adversary of divorce, and 'Delphine' was a plea for divorce.

Madame de Staël was a great Anglomaniac, and she denounced Napoleon's projects against England. This, as well as her attacks on the Concordat, incensed Napoleon more and more. At all risks she left Geneva in September, 1803, and established herself, not in Paris, but in a village near it, Maffliers. She wrote to the First Consul, on her arrival, for an authorization to remain, which, it would seem, was not refused. Many people made visits to Maffliers. Benjamin Constant took a house near Madame de Staël's. Madame Récamier established herself at Saint-Brice, close to her. The police reported Madame de Staël as engaged in a political intrigue (Madame Récamier was a friend of Bernadotte and Moreau). An order to depart was sent to Madame de Staël; she stayed a few days at Madame Récamier's, when one evening an officer of gendarmerie arrived while they were at dinner, and showed a letter, signed Bonaparte, ordering him, within twenty-four hours, to conduct Madame de Staël a distance of forty leagues from Paris. All her friends had tried in vain to influence Bonaparte in her favor, among others Joseph, who offered her his house at Mortefontaine. All she could obtain was permission to go to Germany. She would not return to Coppet like "a bird in a storm." She had for some time longed to visit Germany. "I had," she says, "a desire to strengthen myself by the good reception which was promised me in Germany, and to contrast the friendly reception of the old dynasties with the outrage which the First Consul put upon me, and the impertinence of the upstart dynasty which was preparing to subjugate France." It flattered her to become resolutely before Europe the adversary of Bonaparte, and to organize against him a sort of moral coalition. She probably did not herself realize at first the part which she was going to play; but by degrees she became conscious that she represented liberty struggling against despotism.

On the 13th of December, 1803, Madame de Staël made her entrée at Weimar. She intended to stay only a fortnight, but she remained for several months. Weimar contained at the time the most brilliant intellectual circle of Germany, and Madame de Staël had the privilege of seeing familiarly Goethe, Wieland, and Schiller. Weimar gave her the first lineaments of her book on Germany, which was the idealized image of "poor and noble Germany." At Berlin she was welcomed by the beautiful Queen Louise, and became a sort of lion. The news of the execution of the Duke d'Enghien produced an immense impression in all the German courts; no event could

better serve the vengeance of Madame de Staël. Napoleon affected to laugh at the success obtained by Madame de Staël in Berlin. "What does she say of the Court of Prussia?" he asked one of her friends. "That she has recently seen Prince Louis? Is he still amiable? People are always amiable in the eyes of Madame de Staël when they admire her. Is the Queen still handsome, and the marvel of her sex? Undoubtedly the Prussians are much better than the French."

Necker died on the 10th of April, 1804. It was an immense loss to his daughter, who had always had as much admiration as affection for him. The event did not disarm Napoleon, who was proclaimed Emperor and became more autocratic. From her exile, Madame de Staël denounced the Jacobins, the *émigrés*, who formed the new court, the new dignities which were created; she made pleasantries on those "bourgeois et bourgeoises d'Ajaccio" who surrounded themselves with all the pageantry of an old dynasty. In 1805 she left for Italy, after having assured herself that she would not be molested there by French agents. Her first impressions were not favorable. She found nothing to encourage her in her struggle against despotism. The supersitition of the people horrifies her. She finds too many beggars, too many monks. "Can a people ever rise from this?" she writes to Monti; "what a miserable social state!" Art does not console her, and, as Goethe said, Schiller and Humboldt also, she was a stranger to art. Her daughter Albertine said afterwards: "Mamma liked two things alone in Italy—the sea and Monti." She would give the Duomo of Saint-Peter for a "good Constitution." She afterwards, in 'Corinne,' modified a little these first impressions, but even in 'Corinne' the wrongs of the Italian people produce more effect on her than anything else.

In June, 1805, she returns to Coppet. She wishes to go back to Paris, and her blue lake has a rival in the "ruisseau de la rue du Bac." Napoleon is at the camp of Boulogne, and, amid his preparations for war, he has time to write to Fouché: "Madame de Staël says that I have allowed her to stay in Paris, and she means to stay there. . . . Tell her friends that she must halt at forty leagues from Paris. I must keep out of Paris all the elements of discord. It is not possible that, when I am 2,000 leagues away, at the extremity of Europe, I should allow bad citizens to agitate my capital." Fouché immediately requested the prefect of Geneva, M. de Barante, not to give Madame de Staël any passport for France, and to have her arrested if she insisted on going to Paris. All M. de Barante could obtain for her was permission to reside in Geneva, which was French at the time. She remained in Switzerland during the close of 1805 and the first months of 1806, finding some consolation in the company of M. de Barante, who made frequent visits to Coppet and was the most agreeable of men.

At the end of April, 1806, she travels with Schlegel and her two children, goes to Auxerre, to Blois, to Rouen. At the beginning of 1807, Fouché allows her to reside at twelve leagues from Paris, at a château belonging to M. de Castellane. Napoleon had not complete confidence in Fouché, and wrote to him from Pultusk on December 31: "Do not let that coquaine of

a Madame de Staël approach Paris; I know she is not far from it." And again, in March, 1807: "See that my orders are executed, and don't allow Madame de Staël to be nearer than forty leagues from Paris." He never forgets her: some letters of hers fell into his hands:

"You will see by this letter what sort of a Frenchwoman we have in her. She would have done anything in the world to see Prince Louis, our enemy, madman, and author of the ruin of his monarchy. . . . To-day paying court to the great, the next day patriot, democrat, one cannot but feel indignant at seeing all the forms taken by this —, and ugly besides. I don't tell you all the projects already formed by her ridiculous coterie in case I should be killed. A prefect of police ought to know that. All that comes back to me from this miserable woman shows that she deserves to be left in Coppet, with her Genevese and her Necker family."

The extracts from Napoleon's correspondence with Fouché are all in that style. In one letter he writes: "You would be astonished if I gave you the details of all she has done in her campaign, since, though 500 leagues from France, I know better what is going on there than the prefect of police."

'Corinne' appeared in the last days of April, 1807. Madame de Staël in vain said that she had written a mere novel, without touching politics. "Bah!" said Napoleon; "politics! Do people not make politics when they write on politics, on literature, on anything else?" He said also: "I cannot forgive Madame de Staël for having lowered the French in her novel." One of the personages incarnates French levity in contrast with the perfect serenity of the Englishman Oswald, the hero of the novel. Corinne is anti-French and an Anglomaniac, and Corinne is Madame de Staël. At Coppet, whither she had been obliged to return, she kept a sort of court; her guests were Madame Récamier, Elzéar de Sabran, Benjamin Constant, Schlegel, Sismondi, Barante. Guizot, still unknown, was presented there, and read to her the famous article which Chateaubriand had just published in the *Mercur* (July 4, 1807): "It is in vain that Nero prospers; Tacitus is still born in the Empire; he grows unknown near the ashes of Germanicus, and just Providence has delivered to an obscure child the glory of the master of the world." In the silence of Europe these allusions had an immense effect. In this autumn of 1807, Prince Augustus of Prussia, then a prisoner of France, obtained permission to stay on parole in Switzerland, and made a visit to Coppet. It is well known that he there fell in love with Madame Récamier, and made her an offer of marriage. Napoleon was informed of all the details of this visit, and complains in a letter of the "evil spirits" which the Prince met at Coppet.

In January, 1808, Madame de Staël journeyed to Vienna, where she was very well received in all the aristocratic circles and attended all the lectures of Schlegel, who had declared a sort of open war against French influence, French literature, and French art, and exalted the old glories of Germany. This communion with the enemies of France deeply offended Napoleon. He was aware that Madame de Staël corresponded with Gentz, the agent of Stadion and of the English policy, subsidized at the same time by Austria and by England, the declared enemy of the French Revolution

and of Napoleon. He looked upon her as his mortal enemy, and considered her a dangerous ally and instrument of the coalition which was forming against him.

Correspondence.

THE CINCINNATI MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It seems rather unkind that the *Nation's* recent comment upon the failure to elect a respectable Citizens' ticket upon the 6th instant, in Cincinnati, should put into the mouths of the reformers the stock plea of the "machine," that it is not only a Mayor who is to be chosen but a possible Senator and President. The speakers for reform constantly ridiculed the proposition that any other interest was at stake than that of cleansing the foulness of an especially shameful city government, for which the Republican party management was wholly responsible; but, at the outset, Senator Foraker rushed to the conflict with the ancient alarm, "Elect Ingalls and you threaten Hanna," and all the machine papers took up the cry, which usually has a strangely powerful effect upon many otherwise fairly intelligent voters. The issue of reform was simple and clear, and was so presented by all the advocates of the Citizens' ticket. . . .

G. A. T.

CINCINNATI, April 11, 1903.

SCRIPTURE FOR IT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It has always been my conviction that the boycott was a device of the devil, but I did not know till recently that I had Biblical authority for it: "And he causeth . . . that no man should be able to buy or to sell, save he that hath the mark, even the name of the beast or the number of his name" (Revelations, xiii. 17, Revised Version). . . .

J. M. H.

April 7, 1903.

ORANGE EATING ONCE MORE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In one of my letters from Jamaica (*Nation*, No. 1966) I said: "A charming young woman once told me that the only way to eat an orange was to lock yourself in your room and eat it." That was twenty years ago, and the young woman is now a stately matron; but the method to which she thus covertly alluded forms (as my colleague, Prof. John Williams White, points out to me) the substance of what may be called the *locus classicus* on this subject, a passage in Mrs. Gaskell's 'Cranford,' which appeared just half a century ago. It occurs near the middle of the third chapter, and runs as follows:

"When oranges came in, a curious proceeding was gone through. Miss Jenkyns did not like to cut the fruit; for, as she observed, the juice all ran out nobody knew where; sucking (only I think she used some more recondite word) was in fact the only way of enjoying oranges; but then there was the unpleasant association with a ceremony frequently gone through by little babies; and so, after dessert, in orange season, Miss Jenkyns and Miss Matty used to rise up, possess themselves each of an orange in silence; and withdraw to the pri-

vacy of their own rooms to indulge in sucking oranges."

My words on this innocent subject have evoked so much comment, written or oral or printed, that I venture to think your readers will pardon my reverting to it, and the more readily if, in so doing, I remind them of a book the delightful reprint of which was justly praised in your columns.

C. R. LANMAN.

ORIGIN OF "CAHOOT."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The origin of the colloquial word *cahoot* is a puzzle. It is used in the singular or plural in such expressions as "to be in cahoot (cahoots) with a person"—that is, "to be in partnership or to have a secret understanding." I have heard also "to knock out of cahoots," meaning, "to bring into disorder." Some authorities say the word may be a perversion of French or Spanish *cohorte*, "company," "gang," while the Standard Dictionary suggests the French *cabute*, "cabin." From a philological standpoint this derivation seems more reasonable. The word is attributed to Southern and Western United States, but I am sure it is used in central New York. Perhaps some of your readers can furnish information as to its etymology and the history of its use.

CHARLES BUNDY WILSON.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, IOWA CITY,
April 4, 1903.

Notes.

A monument to Félix Gras is to be erected in Avignon by the Félibrige, the society—founded nearly fifty years ago by Mistral and Roumanille and Aubanel, with four other Provençal poets less widely known—of which Gras was the chief officer, the *Capoulié*, at the time of his death. The commission for the monument has been given to the author's son, Jean Pierre Gras, who already has ranged himself among the most promising of the younger French sculptors. The fame that Gras won at home came to him, curiously enough, from abroad. His 'Reds of the Midi,' with its sequels, translated from the Provençal by Catharine A. Janvier, was published first in English; and not until it had gone through several editions in this country and in England was it published in Provençal. Still later, he himself translating it, it was published in French. In the end, the work had its great success in France, and received official recognition in the grant to its author of the rosette of the Legion of Honor. Gras never received that decoration which to a Frenchman means so much. His rosette reached Avignon almost at the moment of his death, and he wore it in his coffin for the first and last time. The hope is entertained that the fund now being raised to erect a monument to Gras in his home city may be increased by contributions from some of the many American readers to whom his work gave pleasure. In this hope the Félibrige has authorized Mrs. Janvier (who may be addressed in care of Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., No. 436 Fifth Avenue, New York) to receive subscriptions to the memorial fund.

M. L. Greenhalgh, 1135 Madison Avenue,

New York, will publish next month for the Dibdin Club of this city 'Three Centuries of English Booktrade Bibliography' (1595-1902); the first historical part answering to the title, from the pen of A. Growoll, and the second consisting of a bibliography of the catalogues, etc., published for the English booktrade in the period designated, by Wilberforce Eames of the Lenox Library. The edition will be from type, and limited.

The Diary of John Quincy Adams while a student in the law office of Theophilus Parsons of Newburyport, Mass., has been edited by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, and will shortly be published by Little, Brown & Co., Boston, under the title, 'Life in a New England Town, 1787-1788.'

Ruskin's 'Comments on Dante,' with an introduction by Charles Eliot Norton, is in the press of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., along with 'The Correspondence between Ralph Waldo Emerson and Herman Grimm,' edited by Frederick W. Holls.

The American Unitarian Association, Boston, announces for speedy publication 'The Founder of Christendom,' by Goldwin Smith; 'Pioneers of Religious Liberty in America,' "being the Great and Thursday Lectures delivered in Boston in 1903"; 'Religious Freedom in American Education,' by Joseph Henry Crocker; and 'The Influence of Emerson,' by Edwin D. Mead.

Emerson's noble essay, 'Compensation,' is to be centennially published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. in a limited edition. They have nearly ready the complete works of Alexander Pope, edited by Henry W. Boynton; 'The Flower Beautiful,' by Clarence Moores Weed; and 'Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library,' by Gabriel Naudé in John Evelyn's translation.

A revised and enlarged edition of Albee's 'Remembrances of Emerson' is to be issued in time for the centennial by Robert Grier Cooke, 70 Fifth Avenue.

'Evolution of the Japanese, Social and Psychic,' by Sidney L. Gulick, is announced by Fleming H. Revell Co., as also 'The Turk and his Lost Provinces,' by William E. Curtis.

Besides the first volume, "Macbeth," of Professor Liddell's Elizabethan Shakspeare, Doubleday, Page & Co. promise the Memoirs of M. de Blowitz; a new volume of poems by Rudyard Kipling; a new book by Booker Washington; and a 'Color Key to North American Birds,' by Frank M. Chapman, with 700 illustrations.

D. Appleton & Co. will have ready by the end of May a posthumous novel by Frank R. Stockton, 'The Captain's Tollgate.' A memoir by the author's widow will accompany it, with a portrait and views.

From John Lane we are to have 'A New Portrait of Shakspeare,' by John Corbin, with five illustrations.

'Oliver Cromwell, H. H. the Lord Protector, and the Royalist Insurrection of March, 1655,' by Sir Reginald Palgrave, will be shortly published by Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London.

A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, issue directly 'The Souls of Black Folk,' by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

Dr. Anton Bettelheim's 'Biographisches Jahrbuch und Deutscher Nekrolog' has been subsidized by the Prussian Government, and the four volumes 1896-1899 will now be continued uninterruptedly. For the intervening years, the editor and the

publisher, Georg Reimer (Berlin, W. 35 Lützowstrasse 107), desire friendly contribution of data for the preparation of careful obituary notices of eminent Germans conformably to the original plan of this important and patriotic enterprise.

The recluse of Little Grange would heartily have approved the latest attempt to popularize his favorite Crabbe, whose poem 'The Borough' is now reprinted from the first edition of 1810, among the "Temple Classics" of Bell-Macmillan. Mr. Henry Williams, who supplies notes, has had in view a public needing to be told who Homer and Pope were; but, indeed, he had some difficulty in finding a pretext for notes to these village vignettes. The most welcome feature is Crabbe's portrait, from Chantrey's pencil sketch in the National Portrait Gallery—a rugged, weather-beaten face and fine forehead.

The same handy series further extends itself with Macaulay's 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' with nothing superadded from any other hand; and Goldsmith's 'The Bee, and Other Essays,' from the editions of 1759 and 1765, with Mr. Austin Dobson's oversight and annotation. There is a portrait in each case, Goldsmith's the familiar Reynolds; Macaulay's less well known. Mr. Dobson gives a list of the twenty-nine essays contained in the (second) edition of 1766.

A pocket volume smaller than the foregoing combines Matthew Arnold's General Introduction to Ward's "English Poets" and his critique of Stopford Brooke's 'Primer of English Literature' ('Essays on the Study of Poetry,' etc., Macmillan). The compound is worth taking.

Mrs. Gertrude Atherton's 'A Few of Hamilton's Letters' (Macmillan) is pretty certain of a favorable reception, we imagine, from a portion at least of the numerous public which has enjoyed 'The Conqueror.' The published writings of American statesmen belong, we fear, to the class of books much bought but little read, while the high prices which many of the standard editions command are, for most people, prohibitive. Mrs. Atherton's collection, of course, offers little to the specialist, but the eighty-four pieces—only fifty-five of them, by the way, of Hamilton's writing—give an instructive view of Hamilton's public activity. The most important letters are the one to Laurens telling of the André affair; the long letter to Duane, in September, 1780, pointing out the defects in the existing scheme of government and proposing remedies; the account of Hamilton's retirement from Washington's staff, in a letter to Schuyler; and the letter to Washington, September 9, 1792, apropos of the dispute between Hamilton and Jefferson while members of the Cabinet. The novelty of the collection is Hamilton's account, found in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, of the great West Indian hurricane of 1772. As the work of a boy of sixteen, the letter is remarkable; but the hysterical reflections, moral and religious, which make up the larger part of it, are a curious illustration of what, in that day, often passed for piety.

'Academic Honors in Princeton University' is a compilation of all such awards recovered from the records and the newspapers of the time. There are acknowledged and unavoidable omissions in the earlier years. To rehearse the names that afterwards became noted, especially those belonging to the first half of the life of the

college, would be merely calling a roll; for there is no space for comment; but it would be a distinguished roll. This compilation is a valuable contribution to a special class of records, with a direct interest for Princeton men. It has been carefully prepared and edited by John Rogers Williams, although, regardless of "the crime of 1896," the South East Club might find it difficult to identify the entry assigned to it (p. xxvii.). The publication reflects very high credit upon "The University Press" of C. S. Robinson & Co. of Princeton.

Justus Falckner (1672-1723), hitherto known as a minor hymn-writer, came from a line of Saxon pastors, entered the University of Halle in 1693, emigrated in 1700, lived for three years among the pietists on the Wissahickon, was admitted to the ministry at Gloria Dei, Philadelphia, by three Swedish clergymen "owning fealty to the archbishop at Upsala," and for the rest of his life was pastor of New York and Albany, with all the region between and outlying territory in New Jersey and Long Island. This pioneer worthy is now celebrated in a monograph by Dr. Julius F. Sachse (Philadelphia, printed for the author), offered as a "bicentennial memorial of the first regular ordination of an orthodox pastor in America." No reflection is perhaps here intended on the types of religion then prevalent in New York and New England, though Falckner's ministry aimed to protect his scattered flock from the errors of Calvinism, as his book of Instruction, printed by Bradford in 1708, sought "to uphold their faith and controvert the arguments of the Reformed"; yet "regular" and "orthodox" here evidently mean "Lutheran," for Dr. Sachse can hardly intend to lay stress on ordination by a distant bishop through a proxy. In 1703 considerations of doctrine might outweigh everything concrete and practical, but it is curious to see that view insisted on now. Apart from this peculiar claim, which is put forth as the *raison d'être* of the book, its quaint details and numerous illustrations have interest for students of early Pennsylvania history as well as for Lutherans.

There is no more devoted and patriotic work being done in America to-day than that of a group of teachers at Berea in the Kentucky hills. Every one who believes in expansion of the best type will therefore read with interest the account of the 'Birth of Berea College,' written by the Rev. John A. R. Rogers, himself one of the founders of the institution (Philadelphia: H. T. Coates & Co.). Mr. Hamilton Wright Mabie, in his introduction, truly calls this story "one of the spiritual romances of American life." The temper of the pioneers is sufficiently indicated by the three questions they put to themselves at the meeting constituting the college: (1) Is there a demand for a college in this region? (2) Are we the men called by God to carry it forward? (3) Is it to be wholly for God, and not for our own glory? The spirit in which the task was undertaken goes far to explain the fortitude with which it was continued even through the perilous times of the Kuklux Klan. When we wish to impress the foreigner with our educational zeal, it might not be amiss to tell him something of Berea.

To reap the advantages of peace, the Government of Cape Colony has produced, through P. S. King & Son, London, a truly

attractive volume, 'Cape Colony for the Settler: An Account of its Urban and Rural Industries, their Probable Future Development and Extension,' edited by A. R. E. Burton, F.R.G.S., an experienced South African journalist. A description of physical conditions is followed by a chapter on lands and land laws, statistics of population, public debt, revenues, trade, transportation, constitution, etc.; others on fruit and rice culture, wheat and rust, lucerne growing, irrigation, dairying, sheep and goats, animals (including ostriches), etc. To this succeeds a gazetteer of the several divisions of the Cape in alphabetical order; and various appendices complete the information desired by the settler. There are maps of rainfall, and others showing the distribution of animals. Add twenty-nine photographic views of a practical nature, e. g., that showing an ostrich hooded for the plucking. The relation between these birds and the lucerne on which they feed, and again between them and irrigation which ensures the lucerne crop; between these two factors, again, and the lucerne butter "that fetches the highest market price"—is one of many interesting revelations in this well-written manual.

It is perhaps not too late to call attention to a work which possesses additional interest through the recent appointment of its author to the position of French Ambassador to the United States. M. Jusserand's 'Les Sports et Jeux d'Exercice dans l'Ancienne France' (Paris: Plon) is dedicated to the contention, which it sufficiently justifies, that the modern interest in sport is of French rather than of English origin. Its five hundred pages are replete with suggestive information in regard to the development of out-of-door exercises, and to their influence on character and social life, chiefly, of course, in France, but with continual references to contemporary conditions in England, whose history and literature are so familiar to M. Jusserand. The book has the fund of curious information and the charming style characteristic of its accomplished author.

The most attractive article in the *Annales de Géographie* for March is the illustrated account of the typical Picardy village, with its long street lined on either side with barns, the dwellings being at the back of the farmyard. The life, however, which led to these conditions is rapidly disappearing through the migration of the villagers to the towns. In one commune, consisting of 200 houses, only 42 were inhabited in 1901. Among the other contents are notes upon the geography and ethnography of a part of the French Congo and upon the natural resources of the Ivory Coast, the most promising of the West African possessions of France. In a sketch of the map changes occasioned by recent explorations in this region and in Liberia, considerable space is given to an attempt to show that the 'Narrative of a Journey to Musardu' is a pure fantasy, to be relegated to the class of fables. "Le livre a été publié à New-York par les soins de l'Institution Smithsonian, qui a distribué la plus grande partie de l'édition à ses membres. On s'explique mal cet intérêt singulier d'une institution privée d'Amérique pour le voyage d'un noir libérien dans son propre pays." But the Smithsonian Institution is in no way responsible for the book. Benjamin Anderson, a young

man educated in Liberia, of pure negro blood, and at one time Secretary of the Treasury under President Warner, volunteered to undertake the exploration, the means being furnished by Messrs. Henry M. Schieffelin and Caleb Swan of New York. His narrative was printed by S. W. Green in New York in 1870, and, according to an introductory note by Prof. Joseph Henry, "the principal portion of the edition has been presented to the Smithsonian Institution by Mr. H. Maunsell Schieffelin, for distribution." Trübner put a portion of the edition on the market.

Prof. Max Koch of Breslau, who founded the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* in 1886, has discontinued his connection with that learned organ of research in the field of comparative literature, and has founded a new journal, *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin: Duncker), which is now beginning its third volume. The bibliographical supplement of Dr. A. L. Jellinek, which at first formed an integral part of the *Studien*, is now published quarterly as the *Bibliographie der vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, by the same publishers. Professor Koch's old *Zeitschrift* has, however, not suspended publication, but is being continued under the excellent editorship of Prof. W. Wetz of Freiburg and Dr. J. Collin of Giessen, who have divided the responsibilities of their extended field, the former having charge of the studies in English and Romance, the latter in the Germanic literatures and folklore.

The "Reformgymnasium" scheme is evidently gaining favor among the educators of Germany, as the Frankfort and Altona schools, which best represent this type, are being imitated in the case not only of other secondary schools for boys, but of the majority of the Mädchengymnasien. Of the fourteen women's colleges, or secondary schools leading up to the universities, which have been established in Germany since 1893, only two, those of Königsberg and Munich, are modelled after the old-fashioned classical gymnasium. All the others have "Reformed" courses, or a combination of these with the semi-classical Realgymnasium plan. The central thought of the Reformgymnasium is the substitution of a six years' course in the classical languages for the traditional nine years' course; the first three years, before the study of the languages is begun, being devoted to scientific branches. The total enrolment in these women's colleges is about four hundred, and they have a course ranging from four and one-half to six years, the completion of which entitles the graduate to a *testimonium maturitatis* of the university. Baden alone has, besides establishing regular girls' colleges, permitted girls to enter the classes of the boys' gymnasien, but this permission is limited to Pforzheim and a few other towns. The majority of these women's colleges were founded and maintained by women reform associations, chiefly the "Frauenbildungs-Reform." They exist in Karlsruhe, Berlin, Leipzig, Baden-Baden, Königsberg, Hanover, Stuttgart, Breslau, Munich, Frankfort, Hamburg, Cologne, Schöneberg, and Charlottenburg, in chronological order; the last seven having been established in the last three years.

The new educational budget of Prussia has set apart 57,000 marks for the estab-

lishment of a Royal Academy to be founded in the province of Posen, this being the latest method adopted by the Berlin authorities in the contest between the Germanic and Slavic elements in the eastern district of the kingdom. The academy is to establish regular scientific courses of instruction and lectures for the educated classes and the officials, and a series of popular courses and lectures for the masses, with admittance by special permission. Fees are to be charged, and the total income is to be used for books, appliances, etc. An extra donation of 30,000 marks is to cover the cost of initiating this work. Special buildings for the purposes of the academy are to be erected in the near future.

Mr. Ellsworth Huntington, A.B., Beloit, '97, has lately been awarded the Gill Memorial by the Royal Geographical Society of London, in recognition of his explorations while science master at Euphrates College, Harput, Turkey, 1897-1901. Mr. Huntington has been in the Graduate School at Harvard University since 1901, and has just been appointed Research Assistant by the Carnegie Institution. He will soon go with Professor Davis to join Professor Pumpelly for a summer of exploration in Turkestan.

A Harvard summer course in geology will be held in the mountains of southwestern Colorado under the direction of Mr. C. H. White, during July and part of August. Three scholarships of \$200, \$150, and \$125 are available for the course, and are open to general application from teachers and students in any institution for men. A circular descriptive of the course may be had by addressing Mr. White at the Rotch Building, Cambridge, Mass.

The Italian Minister of Public Instruction has just issued an order that students of foreign nationality desiring to be regularly admitted to the first year in any Italian university, need present only a certificate showing that they have completed a course of study such as would admit them to any university in their own country in the particular faculty (arts, law, medicine, etc.) in which they desire to be enrolled in Italy. Students of Italian parentage and citizenship may also be admitted on the same liberal terms, provided they can show good reason for having completed their preparatory studies outside of Italy.

A correspondent writes:

"Every one knows that there is nothing further from the spirit and practice of the *Nation* than intentional injustice to any individual mentioned in its columns. Yet such a thing may occur by accident, as in the case of the poet James Vila Blake, whose recent volume of sonnets was reviewed in the issue of March 12, and the review commented upon by 'A. B.' two weeks later. Both reviewer and correspondent seem to have fallen into the trap set for the unwary who are content with half-knowledge. One can forgive the latter for his suspicion of plagiarism on the part of the poet, knowing nothing as he does of the volume under discussion save the two samples of verse quoted by the reviewer; but suspicions resting on such slight evidence had better not be rushed into print. If 'A. B.' will take the trouble to consult a copy of the book itself, he will find on page 2 of the notes that Sonnet lxxxvi. is ascribed by Mr. Blake to Lessing's fable."

—The Georgian Period: A Collection of Papers dealing with "Colonial" or XVII.-Century Architecture in the United States,

edited by William Rotch Ware (Boston: American Architect and Building News Co.), is concluded at length with volume three. We have found little but praise to give to the work from the beginning, because it undertakes simply the business of record and preservation as completely and intelligently as possible, while hardly attempting criticism. With this aim in view, the editors have given to the book a not strictly uniform treatment. In some cases there has been writing in the form of monographs about special buildings—some church or country house, not much known and perhaps wholly "unpublished," described at once by camera and in words. In other instances, a general essay has been furnished, such as "The Greek Revival and Some Other Things," apparently by one of the editors, as the article is not signed; or, "Savannah and the Far South," by C. R. S. Horton. The diverse character of the matter furnished may best be exemplified by noting the appearance, in the final number, of a treatise on the Boston State House, made up of speeches by celebrated men, and essays contributed to the papers, at the time when there was talk of doing away with the "Bullfinch front" of the State House. Mr. Charles A. Cummings, author of that 'History of Architecture in Italy' which we value, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, and Col. Henry Lee Higginson were these helpers in time of need, and it is recorded that the movement to save the State House was the immediate cause of the publication of No. 1 of the Georgian Period. No. XII., and last, ends with an "envoi" signed by the editor, William Rotch Ware, which gives thanks to those who have helped in the preparation of the work; and especially to Mrs. Thaddeus Horton for general papers on Southern work and her numerous photographs, some procured "through the use of her own camera." So ends the most important work on architecture yet produced in America—most important, because the only one in which a subject peculiarly American is treated in an exhaustive way. The dwellers in more historic lands than ours find means to produce special treatises of this kind in great numbers, and still those of us who are inclined to study architecture crave more and ever more special treatises, whether devoted to one building, to one geographical group of buildings, or to one class of buildings considered more logically with reference to their architectural character. Here in the United States there seem to have been but two opportunities for such specialized treatises: one of them would be devoted to the Spanish convents and missions of the West; the other, devoted to the English, to the transplanted English, architecture of the East and South, we have here before us.

—The Bibliographical Society in London, when it does not dabble with the present, keeps on doing sound and useful work in a quiet way. Little is heard of its publications, though they often represent hard study and careful research. The latest—the tenth of the illustrated monographs issued by the society—is a volume on 'Early Oxford Bindings,' by Mr. Strickland Gibson, printed at the Oxford University Press. The subject is full of interest. There seems to have been an important school of

bookbinders in Oxford from the old monastic days, for the records go back to the twelfth century if the surviving examples of their work do not. That this school or guild became a powerful body is likely enough. It gave the name of Bookbinders to tenements and a bridge that figure in the old chronicles, while even to this day there is a Bookbinders' Yard in Oxford. The bindings are an eloquent proof that there were many accomplished craftsmen among these binders, of whose history Mr. Gibson gives a short sketch down to the middle of the seventeenth century. He has not allowed himself space to go into detail, nor has he endeavored to do more than collect the main facts and state them briefly. The bibliographer, as a rule, appears to have a rooted objection to writing anything that is readable, as well as reliable, though it is hard to say why. However, within the bibliographical limits he has set himself, Mr. Gibson's work is excellently done, and his book will prove of immense use to the student. For his introduction is followed, first, by a descriptive list of stamped bindings, arranged chronologically down to about 1516, and it is curious to find that the oldest, now possessed in the Bodleian, goes no further back than 1460, "or shortly after." Of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, there remain no examples that have as yet been identified as Oxford work. After this list come descriptions of the stamps, with measurements; a list of rolls arranged chronologically, from the beginning of the sixteenth century; some account of centre-pieces; a chronological list of the binders themselves, or of so many as are known by name; extracts from the Bodleian day books and account book; and, finally, fairly well reproduced examples of the bindings, as well as of the stamps and rolls used in their decoration. It will thus be seen how helpful the book must prove in the future to all those who make a study of the history not only of Oxford, but of the art of bookbinding. There is an ample index of persons and places mentioned, and also a list of illustrations and plates. In a word, the book is an admirable demonstration of the patience, skill, and industry of the modern bibliographers. As it has been issued in loose brown-paper covers, it gives a good chance to the enthusiast to have it bound in a manner worthy of the subject, and thus show that the art of bookbinding is not altogether dead.

—The fluctuations in the book salesroom are equalled only by those of the Stock Exchange. The Kelmescott Press Chaucer, which had virtually touched the hundred pounds mark in England, and this not much more than a week before, was sold the other day at Sotheby's in London for seventy-five pounds, a "slump" of nearly one-quarter in its selling price. Of course, it may go up again; there may be further fluctuations; but it looks as if the general tendency now would be downward. The reasons for this are evident. Not only is the "boom" of Morris on the wane, but there are two other causes for a decline in the value—that is, from the collector's standpoint—of his Chaucer. First, when it is considered that, within a few days in the same salesroom, a unique copy of Dante, with the illustrations attributed to Botticelli, brought only a thousand pounds, it is utterly absurd that

one copy of a book of which an edition of four hundred and twenty-five on paper and thirteen on vellum was published only a few years ago, so that all the copies are still in existence, should bring one-tenth of this figure; especially as many copies are changing hands, like shares, all the time. And, again, it is by degrees becoming more widely known, though it has been perfectly well known to booklovers in England all along, that the drawings for the Chaucer were really not by Burne-Jones. This artist made a series of rough pencil notes, suggesting the subjects and the composition, and they were then carried out by Mr. Catterson Smith and others, who turned the slight pencil sketches into elaborate compositions in pen-and-ink or pencil. The book may be, or rather is, after its fashion a truly magnificent example of printing, but, artistically, Burne-Jones had very little to do with it—how little, whoever saw his pencil sketches when they were exhibited in some of the London galleries must know. They were hints and suggestions, and not much more. And as it is partly for the illustrations that the book has been prized so highly, this fact must in the end make a difference.

—The Oxford Dictionary now takes a hand in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, pointing out, in its current issue, the great extension of the use of *out-*, "as a prefix forming verbs with the force of surpassing or outdoing," which began about 1600. Shakespeare's part in this, continues the editor, "as our earliest authority for many *out-*verbs, and the introducer of the phrases of which the earliest types are 'our prayers do out-pray his,'" is preëminent, whereas "phrases of this kind, and, indeed, *out-*verbs as a class, were apparently eschewed by Shakespeare's contemporary, Bacon." "Shakespeare uses fifty-four of these verbs, for thirty-eight of which he is our first, and for nine of them our only authority"; but "we cite Bacon only for two," and one of these had been in common use in archery for seventy years. Ben Jonson "used the *out-*verbs nearly as freely as Shakespeare, without, however, yielding anything like the same number of first instances." We owe to Dr. Murray's extreme courtesy the privilege of giving Shakespeare's list complete beyond the limits of the Dictionary's instalment (Onomastical-Outing). The verbs in italic occur first in Shakespeare; those in small capitals, first and alone in him: Outbed, outbrag, outbrave (first in special sense), outbreath (put out of breath), outburn, outcrafty, outdare, outdo (special), outdwell, outface, outfly, outfrown (and in nineteenth-century echoes), outgo, outgrow, outherod, (nineteenth century), outjest, outlaw, outlive (special), outlook, outlustre, outnight, outparamour, outpeer (nineteenth century), outpray, outprize, outride, outroar, outrun (special), outscold, outscorn, outsell, outshine, outsleep, outspcak, outsport, outstand (special), outstare, outstay, outstretch, outstrike (special), outstrip, outswear, outsweeten (nineteenth century), outswell (special), out-talk, out-tongue, outvenom, outvie, outvillain (nineteenth century), outvoice, outweigh, outwear, outwork, outworth. Bacon's brief list is: Outcompass and outshoot. Dr. Murray remarks that in 1800 Shakespeare alone could be cited for fourteen words on his list; in the next century five

of these reappear as echoes. Indeed, thanks to Scott, who was "to a large extent the discoverer of Shakespeare," the reverberation has gone on ever since the Romantic revival.

—At a timely moment there reaches us a new edition of the Latin version of that Dutch morality, "Elckerlijck," which, under the English name of "Everyman," has lately been attracting no small audiences of the elect in several American cities. This is the version called "Homulus" by its author, who was apparently Christian Stercke (alias Ischyrius), first published in 1536. Between then and 1548 it passed through at least eight impressions, and is now reëdited by Alphonse Roersch (Ghent: Librairie Néerlandaise), who a few years ago discovered in the archives of Maestricht about all that is known of "meester Christaen," the struggling pedagogue-in-chief of that unappreciative town. In his introduction, Roersch gives a bibliography of "Homulus," the variant readings of five editions, and a few pages of notes on the language and style of the version. There are also several reproductions of woodcuts with which the first edition was adorned. The little book, a pamphlet of some hundred and odd pages, will be welcomed by many students at our universities whose interest in the various forms of this morality has recently been stimulated by the remarkably successful performances of "Everyman" to which we have referred. We may add that the new firm of Fox, Duffield & Co., in this city, make their first bow to the bookish public in a handsome reprint of the "Everyman" now being produced. The form is appropriately reminiscent of the Elizabethan quartos: the cream-toned paper, old-faced type, and gray board covers, all most tasteful. The text is reprinted from Hazlitt-Dodsley, and the illustrations are selected from John Skot's edition of 1529. The erudition of the slight introduction is somewhat ragged, and, since such a text is not for the unschooled public, one could wish that one of the old editions had been followed *literatim*, rather than the presumably bad Hazlitt-Dodsley version. But here it is, at any rate, the best of the old moralities, easy to read and fair to look upon.

—Paris, as we remarked the other day, apropos of the commotion in the Louvre over the tiara, is a great centre for the forging of antiquities. There has just been discovered in the suburbs a thriving factory for the fabrication of Egyptian mummies, cases and all. These were then shipped to Egypt, and in due time returned as properly antique corpses. As regards mediæval antiquities, a very funny story is now current. A certain clever workman in stone made to the order of a dealer in mediæval antiquities a Venetian chimney-piece of the fifteenth century, and received for his work some two or three thousand francs. The dealer shipped the chimney-piece to Italy, and had it set up in a palace near Venice, bringing back to Paris photographs of the palace, and of the chimney-piece *in situ*. By means of these photographs he aroused the interest of a rich collector, who sent his secretary to Venice to make sure that the photographs did not lie, and, on his favorable report, bought the thing for 50,000 francs. On the arrival of the article at his house in Paris he sent

for some workmen to open the cases. One of them appeared to him to go about the work rather carelessly, and he remonstrated with the man, who answered: "Have no fear, sir; I know just how it needs to be opened, for I packed it when it left Paris."

—There has been of late a kind of symposium in some of the French reviews on the state of their journals. The conclusion, as stated by M. E. Pierret in the *Réforme Sociale*, is excessively gloomy. The *Débats* and the *Temps* alone maintain a creditable position; the rest are decadent to the last degree. Not that there is any lack of literary skill—the writing is clever enough—but the subjects treated are petty and vile. There is no foreign news, no foreign correspondence; if anything of this kind appears it is borrowed from the *Temps*. Some of the German papers publish in a single dispatch more words concerning a session of the French Chamber than a French paper will publish in a month concerning all that takes place in Germany and in Austria. A newspaper is properly supported by its advertisements, but the French papers have killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. Girardin, when he inaugurated the cheap press maintained by advertising in 1835, said, "La quatrième page est un mur, y affiche qui veut." But the temptation to win a brief advantage by concealing advertisements under the guise of reading matter has proved too strong, and, as a result, advertising has fallen off. Deprived of this legitimate support, the press has felt obliged to prostitute itself. It resorts to blackmail; it sells its speech for silver and its silence for gold. It was paid for swindling the public concerning the Panama Canal; it was paid for keeping silent for two years concerning the Armenian massacres. The criticism of books, pictures, plays, is bought; what is not paid for is ignored. But what is so easily bought is not worth paying much for, and venality has had to be more and more supplemented by "pornographie." Here the lowest depths would seem to have been reached; the limit of revenue attainable by corruption has been touched. In spite of M. Pierret's rhetorical exaggeration, his witnesses bear out his case, and we can but shudder at the lessons now taught the French people by what is the most effective, and should be the most elevating, of educational agencies.

GENERAL GREENE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—I.

The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783. Volume IV. and last. By Edward McCrady. Macmillan. 1902. Pp. xxvii., 787.

At the close of the third volume of his great history of South Carolina, in which the account of the Revolutionary War was brought down to the end of 1780, Mr. McCrady threw out a hint that his treatment of the succeeding period, when American military operations were under the direction of Gen. Nathanael Greene, would not be in the eulogistic strain hitherto common, but would seek to do justice to the partisan leaders whose exploits the author had already dwelt largely upon. The volume now before us, completing Mr. McCrady's undertaking, fulfils this promise with truly

extraordinary vigor and assertiveness. The book is, in fact, one long indictment of Greene, in which his personal character, his military career, and his attitude towards the Southern leaders are attacked with a severity and bitterness not easily paralleled in recent historical writing of the larger sort. Those who have read Mr. McCrady's previous volumes are already aware of his positiveness of expression, his confidence in the soundness of his own positions, and his extreme sensitiveness about the honor and achievements of his State; but they will hardly be prepared for so extreme a setting forth of the case against Greene, or so sneering a depreciation of Greene's motives and work, as run through the present volume from cover to cover.

Mr. McCrady's indictment of Greene, though touching upon nearly every detail of the latter's public life in the South, relates principally to six points: first, Greene's fitness for his position as commander of the Southern Department; second, his attitude towards the partisan leaders, especially Sumter; third, his distrust of militia and confidence in the superiority of regular troops; fourth, his military achievements and reverses; fifth, his relations with the Government and people of South Carolina, particularly during the period just preceding the evacuation of Charleston; and, last, his connection with the firm of Banks & Co. The evidence adduced on these several points, scattered as it is throughout a large volume excessively packed with detail, cannot possibly be presented with much fulness within the limits of this review, and is difficult to summarize with much brevity. The importance of Mr. McCrady's book, however, as the most significant contribution lately made to the literature of the American Revolution, as well as the truly extraordinary manner in which he has performed his task, seem to justify a discussion of the case at somewhat more than usual length.

It will be recalled that some two months after the defeat of Gates at Camden, Washington, in response to a resolution of Congress, appointed Greene to take command of the Southern Department. It is at this point that Mr. McCrady's narrative begins, and it is with regard to Greene's qualifications that the first count of the indictment is framed. It is pointed out that Greene had reached the high rank of major-general "without ever having been engaged in battle" (p. 3), and that his administration of the quartermaster's department, though approved by Washington, had not been characterized by "any marked success" (p. 4). The account of Greene's connection with the firm of Barnabas Deane & Co., though relegated to a lengthy footnote as having no direct bearing on the history of South Carolina, is nevertheless so put as to show the author's reprobation of the transaction; and emphasis is laid upon the fact that although, at the time of his appointment to the South, Greene's experience had been considerable both in the field and in the administrative department of the army, he had not as yet "exercised an independent command, nor conducted a battle except under the eye and direction of another" (p. 5). From the facts as stated there can be, of course, no dissent, but they do not give us quite the whole story. Greene, to be sure, was a subordinate, as most military men must always

be, but he was the most trusted by Washington of all the American officers; and although he had never exercised an independent command, he had been, as one of his biographers points out, in every battle in which Washington had commanded, except White Plains. That Washington, whose opportunities for observation would probably be admitted to have been considerable, believed that Greene had in him the making of a competent commander, would seem to be evidenced by his choice of Greene to take charge of a department in regard to which, owing to the lack of information, Washington "could give no positive instructions, but must leave [him] to govern himself entirely according to his own prudence and judgment" (p. 7). It is not without significance, either, as showing the general esteem in which Greene was held, that so many of the ablest officers sought to accompany him.

This, however, is a comparatively minor matter, chiefly noteworthy as showing at the outset Mr. McCrady's attitude towards Greene. The second count is more serious, and, in some respects, the most important of all. It is charged that Greene both underestimated and depreciated the importance of the partisan leaders, deprecated their mode of warfare, and slandered them in private while praising them publicly. The further charge that Greene set little store by militia or partisan volunteers, and put reliance only upon regular troops, is so interwoven with the charge of hostility to the popular leaders that the two may conveniently be considered together. The complaint about the militia, it will be remembered, is not new, but runs through a large part of Mr. McCrady's third volume, and colors much of his criticism on the earlier conduct of the war. The evidence most frequently cited by Mr. McCrady to prove Greene's dissent is his letter of January 8, 1781, to Sumter, in which, after expressing his sympathy for Sumter, then suffering from a wound, he continues:

"When I was with you your soul was full of enterprise. The salvation of this country don't depend upon little strokes, nor should the great business of establishing a permanent army be neglected to perform them. Partisan strokes in war are like the garnish of a table. They give splendor to the army, and reputation to the officer, but they afford no substantial national security. . . . The enemy will never relinquish their plan nor the people be firm in our favor, until they behold a better barrier in this field than a volunteer militia, who are one day out, and the next at home. . . . It is not a war of posts, but a contest of States dependent upon opinion" (pp. 61, 62).

Mr. McCrady is unmeasured in his denunciation of Greene for writing this letter, and again and again returns to it, or quotes its striking phrases, often with sneer or fling, as his narrative proceeds. There was, he says,

"some general truth, of course, in all this. But why should Greene have taken this occasion to remind Sumter of these elementary principles of warfare? . . . What had Sumter to do with the great business of establishing a permanent army? . . . This long and carefully prepared and studied letter must have been written for a definite purpose. It must have been designed to influence Sumter's conduct in some way. The only effect which the letter could produce was to dissuade Sumter from striking any more partisan blows. . . . Was it true that at present the war was not one of outposts? . . . This letter was written.

either in ignorance of what had taken place in South Carolina during the last six months, or in want of appreciation and disparagement of the great results which had been accomplished" (pp. 62-64).

As between Sumter and Marion, the latter was Greene's favorite, but Mr. McCrady quotes letters to show that "in his private correspondence Greene was accustomed to sneer at both." Thus, writing to Marion on April 24, Greene, after extolling Marion's achievements, declares: "I shall miss no opportunity of declaring to Congress, the Commander-in-chief of the American army, and to the world in general, the great sense I have of your merit and services" (p. 178). Two days before, however, as Mr. McCrady observes, Greene had had an opportunity, and had written to Washington this "lukewarm and indifferent report":

"The conflict may continue for some time longer; and Generals Sumter and Marion, and many others, deserve great credit for their exertions and perseverance, but their endeavors rather seem to keep the contest alive, than lay any foundation for the recovery of these States."

Of similar purport is Greene's letter of May 4 to Governor R  ed of Pennsylvania.

It would be wearisome to cite the numerous instances in which Mr. McCrady recurs to this point of attack. Depreciation, innuendo, and sneer have seldom been more persistently used in an important historical work, or with so strong a suggestion of personal hostility to his subject on the part of the author. It is no part of a reviewer's task in this instance to defend Greene or even to purge his conduct of seeming inconsistencies. Yet something weighty is to be said on the other side. It is not to Greene's discredit that he should at the beginning have misunderstood the conditions and character of the struggle in the South, or that, when he came to know more of it, he should have felt the impossibility of continuing resistance mainly by the methods heretofore in vogue. There can be no doubt that Greene always viewed the presence of partisan bands, under leaders whose relation to himself as commander-in-chief was at best uncertain, as an embarrassment, and that he was more than once undecided as to their proper place in a comprehensive plan of campaign. It was his duty as commander of the Southern Department to take a large view of the situation, and plan his movements with regard to all the interests involved. The partisan bands, able as was their leadership and important as were their services, were, after all, irresponsible bodies of guerillas, acknowledging but precarious allegiance even to their leaders, serving without pay and for irregular periods, living off the country, and more and more degenerating, as Mr. McCrady himself admits, into lawless plunderers. That they were increasingly a terror to the regions in which they operated, is as certain as that they administered substantial punishment to the British. Mr. McCrady censures Greene for attempting to do the one thing that he was bound in consistency to do, namely, to bring order and victory out of chaos and defeat, to substitute a central authority and control for temporary allegiance to a popular chief, to direct the movements on the outskirts so as to make them harmonize with the movements at the centre, and to create an American army fit to cope with the veterans of Cornwallis.

Greene, in short, planned for war, while Sumter planned only for offensive operations. It is clear from Mr. McCrady's own narrative that Greene had a just appreciation of the value of the partisan bands and realized the necessity of partisan warfare, but as subsidiary to his main purpose and not as the principal element in it.

We do not read Greene's letters in so unfavorable a light as does Mr. McCrady. The letters of April 22, to Washington, and May 4, to Reed, when read as a whole in Johnson's *Life of Greene*, are comprehensive reports on the military situation and outlook; the references to Marion and Sumter, on which Mr. McCrady is so severe, being rather incidental and by way of illustration than in any tone of personal depreciation. It was the facts that were disagreeable. The famous letter of January 8, again, when read as a whole and without bias, seems rather an attempt to lay out to Sumter the general plan in Greene's mind, and secure his cooperation, than a "treatise" intended to "discourage" Sumter from striking any more partisan blows. Even Mr. McCrady admits (p. 65) that the last part of the letter "shows that Greene was not ignorant of the great difference between the men whom Sumter led and the ordinary militia."

This significant passage from Greene's letter, which is too long to quote, and which Mr. McCrady leaves without further comment, suggests another cause of difference between Greene and Sumter. Although Greene seems clearly to distinguish between the militia properly so called and the partisan bands, he apparently for some time imagined that the partisan leaders could, if they chose, bring into the field a considerable and definite number of men, and so far control them as to admit of their employment in extended operations. This "radical misconception" of Greene, as the author calls it, was at least not unnatural, yet it early opened the way for serious misunderstanding between Greene and Sumter, in which, if we are to follow Mr. McCrady, Greene was the most to blame.

There were added to Greene's embarrassments sharp personal differences among the partisan leaders themselves, particularly between the most famous of them, Marion and Sumter. That these differences were but natural outgrowths of unrestrained guerilla warfare is, of course, evident, but they were also accentuated by the personal qualities of the men themselves. Mr. McCrady, whose admiration for Sumter shows few bounds, admits that he was of "quick and impetuous temper" (p. 167), indisposed to "brook interference" (p. 243), restless under discipline and restraint, and not friendly to the idea of a superior; in short, a difficult person to get on with. The fact that Marion was Greene's favorite, and that the exploits of Morgan and Lee, under Greene's direction, rivalled in daring those of the partisan leaders themselves, doubtless made Sumter somewhat jealous. Nor can Greene be wholly acquitted of blame. He had obvious infirmities of temper. He was impetuous and outspoken, and prone to speak of others, especially in private correspondence, with a frankness indicative of imperfect self-control. Mr. McCrady has certainly made the most of such incidents, but more impartial historians will, we think, agree

that, while Greene's outbursts are regrettable, they are not in this case the whole of life. Unless it can be shown—as we believe it cannot—that Greene's impatience with Sumter's independence was a predominating factor in the former's conduct as a military leader, and unwarranted by the actual facts of the case, it should not, we think, be much dwelt upon. Few are the great men who cannot be made ridiculous by constantly exhibiting them at their worst. And one need not go beyond Mr. McCrady's own pages to find sufficient refutation of his general estimate of Greene, and important modifications of his insistent exaltation of Sumter.

CLIMBS IN THE HIMALAYA AND ELSEWHERE.

Mountaineering in the Himalaya and Other Mountain Ranges. By J. Norman Collie, F. R. S., Member of the Alpine Club. Edinburgh: David Douglas; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1902.

England produces a smaller quantity of printed matter relating to mountain climbing and mountain exploration than does Germany with her copious magazine-records devoted to the subject. But she produces more books about climbing than does any other country, the United States included; from which fact one may apparently conclude that the number of "general readers" who care for the subject is larger in England than in other European countries. Mr. Collie's book is chiefly devoted to the Himalaya, though he has chapters upon the Canadian Rockies and upon the Lofoten Isles in Norway, as well as stray notes upon some of the mountains of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Mr. Collie was one of the three well-known and experienced climbers who set off some years ago to explore, and if possible ascend, one of the loftiest and most impressive peaks in the northwest Himalaya, a peak more accessible than any other of the great summits, because it stands rather detached and is entirely in territory subject to British influence. The highest peaks of all lie on the frontier of Nepal and Tibet, regions both of which are closed to Europeans by the political jealousy of the native governments. The next highest group, sometimes called the Mustagh, near the Karakoram Pass on the frontier of Kashmir and Turkistan, rise out of an almost uninhabited wilderness, whose valleys are filled by vast glaciers; and it is necessary to carry provisions a very long way into these wastes in order that the explorers may be able to reach even the foot of the glaciers. There are really only three parts of the Himalaya where exploration can be conducted without political difficulties. One is the small protected State of Sikkim, north of Calcutta, which was fifty years ago visited by Sir J. D. Hooker, and described in one of the best books of scientific travel ever written—his *Himalayan Journals*. Here stands the magnificent mass of Kinchinjunga, sixty miles from the British Hill Station of Darjeeling, but so difficult of approach, owing to the nature of the country, that it takes many days' journey and an expense of thousands of dollars to carry an expedition to a point from which the ascent could be attempted. A second district is Kumaon, north of Oudh, a

district under direct British control, but one where the snow-peaks lie so far back that approach to them is no less tedious and costly than in Sikkim. Neither do they reach the altitude of the Sikkim summits. Of the third or Karakoram region we have spoken already. There remains Nanga Parbat, the mountain to which Mr. Collie and his friends Messrs. Mummery and Hastings devoted their efforts. It lies in Kashmir, a huge territory under British influence, where Europeans who have obtained the leave of the Government of India can travel as freely as within the British dominions themselves. Its height is 26,629 feet above the sea, nearly 3,000 feet less than the highest of the Nepalese or Tibetan summits hitherto measured, but at least 2,000 feet above any point yet reached by human foot. It stands due north of the Lake of Kashmir, and just south of the Indus at the point where that great river turns downward its course from west-northwest to southwest.

The English party approached Nanga Parbat from the southeast, and journeyed along its southern face, seeking a point at which it appeared possible to scale its formidably steep slopes. They had to cross some very lofty passes, and experienced, like other travellers, much difficulty in supplying themselves with provisions, for the native villages are usually far below the snow line, which is approached only by a few herdsmen in the summer. Finding the southern side of the mountain unpromising, they crossed a pass at the western end, and reconnoitred the northwest face. Here Mr. Mummery, one of the party who had made a great reputation in the Swiss Alps by his extraordinary daring and skill as a climber, attacked the mountain with a Gurkha attendant, Mr. Collie being ill at the time, and the third member of the party absent endeavoring to bring up provisions. The Gurkhas are by far the strongest and boldest climbers among the various races that inhabit the Himalayas; rather small men, but extremely muscular and active, and very trustworthy. After some hard and dangerous rock climbing, Mummery reached a height of more than 20,000 feet, and believed that he might, by camping out on the rocks, have reached the summit on the following day, for the upper slopes of the mountains seemed less steep than those he had already ascended. However, his Gurkha was taken ill and could go no further, so he returned to the glacier below, where Mr. Collie awaited him. A day or two after, unwilling to abandon hope, he set out with two Gurkhas to cross a pass nearly 20,000 feet high, which would, he hoped, carry him into another valley further east, from which it might be possible to find an easier way up Nanga Parbat. Mr. Collie, taking an easier though longer route, was to meet him in that valley after two days. However, when Mr. Collie reached the trysting-place, there was no sign of Mummery or his men. Seen from this valley, the northeastern side of the pass, down which the venturesome climber would have had to come, seemed impracticable, so Mr. Collie and his party turned back to the camping-place at which they had parted from Mummery, expecting to find that he had returned thither. He was not there, however, and from that day to this no trace of him or his companions has ever been discovered. Probably they

were killed by an ice avalanche in ascending the pass; but in this region of gigantic glaciers, snow-fields, and precipices, all on a scale far huger than that of the Alps, there are many perils, any one of which might have proved fatal. Mummery, who was deeply regretted by his colleagues of the English Alpine Club, was, we believe, the first—perhaps he still remains the only—European climber who has perished by an accident in the Himalayas. If any one could have succeeded in reaching one of these tremendous pinnacles, it might well have been this exceptionally active, skilful, and adventurous mountaineer. There is no reason to think that it was to the rarity of the air that he succumbed; and in point of fact some Europeans have gone higher. Sir Martin Conway's party in the Mustagh group attained 22,600 feet; Mr. Graham in Sikkim would seem to have reached the top of Kebrua, 24,000 feet, a little higher than Aconcagua in the Andes, which has been several times ascended, and whose ascent is difficult chiefly owing to the rarity of the air and the severity of the weather, for the slopes are not particularly steep.

Mummery and several others who have explored the Himalayas, such as Mr. Collie, Sir Martin Conway, and Mr. Douglas Freshfield, do not despair of scaling even Kinchinjunga, and that still higher summit of the Eastern Himalaya which is called by the Tibetans Lapti Chang, by the Nepalese Gaurisankar or Devadhunga. It is no doubt true that careful and continued examination has enabled practicable routes to be found up many mountains formerly held inaccessible; true, also, that the physical powers of man can be greatly strengthened by long practice in high altitudes. Nevertheless, the difficulties experienced both on Aconcagua and by Sir Martin Conway's party on the Karakoram Himalaya show that when a height exceeding 20,000 feet is passed, the strain on heart and lungs and the disturbance of the digestive organs become so serious that the progress made upward is extremely slow. It is consequently impossible to make more than, say, three thousand feet in a day; whence it follows that several nights must be spent at these enormous elevations, with the necessity of conveying a proportionately large quantity of provisions along with the party. Accordingly, while it is quite possible that at no distant date even a summit like Kinchinjunga may yield to the persistent energy of European climbers, there may still be many failures to record before the goal so long desired is attained.

Mr. Collie's descriptions are forcible and graphic. One of the best is that of the tremendous gorge of the Indus to the west of Nanga Parbat, between Bunar and the point where it issues from the hills a little above Attock. This gorge is some twelve thousand feet below the ranges which tower over it, and which in many places descend in sheer precipices. It is perfectly arid and barren, intensely hot, brown, and dusty, one of the most dismal and formidable pieces of scenery in the world, more terrible than the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River, because on a grander scale and because far less rich and varied in color. As Sir J. D. Hooker observed long ago, the Himalaya, though vaster and more magnificent than the Alps, are less beautiful just because nearly all the landscapes are too large to

permit of those combinations of the various elements of beauty which make a landscape lovely. Valleys ten thousand feet deep do not give the same pleasure as does the Yosemite, still the most perfect piece of scenery discovered on the American continent.

Among the other contents of Mr. Collie's book, the most interesting is his account of sundry rock climbs in the very bold and sharp peaks of the Lofoten Isles. These peaks seldom exceed 4,000 feet, but, rising sheer out of the sea, they produce their full effect, and furnish landscapes of a singular variety and charm, to which there is nothing quite similar in the Old World. Indeed, the scenery of the Arctic coast of Norway is, with the possible exception of the Chilean coast north of the Straits of Magellan, the finest coast scenery that the world has to show. The Alaskan coasts have loftier summits and vaster glaciers, but the forms are not equally fine. We must not forget to add that Mr. Collie gives a short but attractive description of the scenery of the Canadian Rockies, where there are many unexplored glaciers and unscalable summits, sufficient to employ the energy and ardor of American climbers for many years to come.

MRS. WARD'S LATEST STORY.

Lady Rose's Daughter. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Harper & Brothers.

Those who were fortunate enough to read 'Lady Rose's Daughter' without knowing anything about the life, loves, and letters of Mlle. de Lespinasse, enjoyed sensations of surprise and curiosity, sensations of which the wide advertisement of the novel's historical source has defrauded later readers. Mrs. Ward's name is identified with purposeful fiction, the sort that discusses serious themes and describes people pursuing an object, or objects, which the author believes to imply wider scope and higher aspiration than the mere living of one's own life and taking all one can get for self-gratification. Great, therefore, is the surprise of her accustomed reader (and, if he be also an earnest admirer, great the shock) to perceive in the earliest stage of acquaintance that Julie Le Breton, Lady Rose's daughter, is the sort of young woman to whom the vexed problems of humanity are conspicuously uninteresting; is indeed a free lance, an adventuress, born to fight for her own hand, and probably willing to use any weapons that seem expedient.

Surprise at Mrs. Ward's choice of a heroine is, of course, accompanied by curiosity about what she will do with her. For eighteen or twenty chapters she does very well, objectively at least, showing something of hitherto unsuspected ability to construct and develop a story in artist's fashion, smoothly, deliberately, making it interesting for its own sake and for the manner of presentation. She makes no capital out of current ideas or topics of general interest, and rather avoids preaching a cause or propagating a saving belief. It is true that this success is in description, not in characterization. As usual, Mrs. Ward flies very high and fails to realize her conception. Her characters are of the greatest world, adding to social position personal distinction as

statesmen, diplomatists, soldiers, authors. Yet they never utter a thought beyond the capacity of a schoolboy, or turn a memorable phrase. Of Julie we are repeatedly told that her social grace and tact, though remarkable, are less powerful to charm than is her wonderful and brilliant talk. The specimens of her conversation vouchsafed are not above a drawing-room average; and, as for the methods by which she influenced Prime Ministers and other potentates to do her will, we have not so much as a glimpse at them actually operating. Nevertheless, Julie stands clearly for a genuine product of Nature, not perhaps one of her most creditable performances, but distinctly her own, created without reference to any artificial standard of perfection. Julie's insincere attitude towards her patroness, Lady Henry, her clever capture for intimate friendship of a self-willed young Duchess, her rejection, while the game of life was still to be played, of an uninteresting young man with a possible dukedom ahead—all this is extremely natural, as the triumph of her passion for the young soldier, Warkworth, over all hopes, plans, and ambitions, is a perfectly just inference from what precedes.

When Julie is actually started for Paris to join Warkworth, Mrs. Ward appears to have faced the consequences of her first conception, and the respect with which we have always firmly regarded her is tinged with a more enthusiastic sentiment. At this critical point another surprise awaits us. The author seems to stop to review what she has already done, to foresee with horror what she was about to do and what, with her blameless record on trial, she can never, never do. She takes fright, forsakes nature and probability, denies what we are supposing to be the work of her own hand, and invents a way out of the complication that shall make it possible for her Julie to become a perfectly respectable duchess. Without the key to the novel, it can only be supposed that Mrs. Ward has been led out of temptation and delivered from evil by a sense of duty to her position as a leader of thought and as a powerful influence for good in her native land. Persons of experience who have looked at life frankly, are strongly attached to theories about the force of temperament and logic of character. To such persons it is nonsense to say that a child of revolt and passion did, at the moment when revolt was strong within her and the passion of love consuming, turn aside from her destiny at the bidding of a moral and mystic young man (possible duke) whom she had twice refused to marry. But the class that Mrs. Ward professionally leads to higher things is not distinguished for perspicacity or renowned for unprejudiced observation of life. The mystic and moral young man round whom there "breathed the air of the heights" appeals to that class as a very probable worker of miracles, in which rôle, when it is known that he must one day be a duke, a wise, a beneficent duke, he becomes invincible. It is not inconceivable that many earnest, optimistic persons, thrilled by introduction to a family seat at the moment of its occupation by three dukes (two just dead and one just come to his own), may take in good faith Julie's offer to second her Duke Jacob's desired renunciation of his dukedom, should such sacrifice be per-

missible under the Constitution of his country. Still, when Duke Jacob perceives that it is his painful duty to remain a duke, it is no sign of depravity to believe that Julie discreetly "chortled" with unholy joy.

Once in possession of the history of Mlle. Julie de Lespinasse, both the unusual quality of the first half of Mrs. Ward's novel and the deplorable break in the middle are perfectly explained. The story up to its critical point is a modern English drawing-room adaptation of the life of an eighteenth-century Frenchwoman whose fame was made by the distinguished men who sought her society, and perpetuated by the publication of her ardent letters to a not very responsive lover. Mrs. Ward has made use of the facts of Mlle. de Lespinasse's life, has tried to reproduce her character and personal charm, and has closely copied some significant scenes. It is written of Mlle. de Lespinasse that, after her quarrel with the jealous and tyrannical Mme. du Deffand, when she had set up her rival salon and carried off the favored adorers of her former mistress, she embarked on a life *insouciant et même un peu galante*. The phrase states the fact delicately. Doubtless Mrs. Ward's conscience and her sense of public duty prohibited her borrowing from the abundant literature at her disposal descriptive of that sort of life; so just here she threw her model overboard, seized the tiller, and steered her story to smash on the reefs of her country's social code and literary convention. The right to borrow so liberally and add so little is perhaps a debatable point of literary ethics. Mrs. Ward does not seem to us to have passed the limit of justifiable borrowing, but she has sailed pretty close; one may even go so far as to say that she has not shown herself overnice.

The Religion of Plutarch. By John Oakesmith. Longmans, Green & Co.

"Plutarch," said Emerson, "will be perpetually rediscovered from time to time as long as books last." It is at any rate safe to assert that, at every stage in the history of thought when it becomes desirable to reconcile current religious beliefs with the conclusions of philosophy, the compromising method of Plutarch will be quoted with approval. He believed in the unity of God, and, like the latter Neo-Platonists, he tried to demonstrate the unity of religions, Hellenic and Oriental, and to relate his composite Deity to the visible world. His theory of intermediary demons goes back to Hesiod, though its interest for philosophy does not begin till Plutarch developed it from Plato. It paved the way for the marvellous in religion and philosophy, and that alone was enough to secure its popularity in the early Christian centuries. Plutarch realized the dangers of his conception and the ease with which it might degenerate into superstition; and, horrible as he considered either extreme, or in fact any extreme, he definitely prefers the atheist to the superstitious man. "The profoundest, the most essential, and paramount theme of human interest," says Goethe, "is the eternal conflict between atheism and superstition." Plutarch was a moralist rather than a philosopher, and his tract 'De Superstitione' is chiefly concerned to show that "a mere intellectual error," such as atheism, is to be pre-

ferred to the moral disorder of superstition. Yet the doctrine of demons, good and evil, opened the door to superstition, and in the theurgy which with its magical rites debased later Neo-Platonism, his demonology has much to answer for. His piety, his sincerity, his toleration—for the *odium theologicum* was inconceivable to his gentle spirit—have endeared him even to the Christians, whom he, curiously enough, ignores; so that we find John the Metropolitan of Euchaita, in an epigram that Plutarch would have thought to indicate a narrow sectarianism, making, at any rate, concessions to the author of the 'Moralia.'

"If any Pagans, Lord, Thy grace shall save
From wrath divine, this boon I humbly crave,
Plato and Plutarch save. Thine was the cause
Their speech supported; Thine too were the laws
Their hearts obeyed; and if their eyes were blind
To recognize Thee Lord of humankind,
Needs only that Thy gift of grace be shown
To bring them and bring all men to the throne."

Mr. Oakesmith's essay was written in its first form as a thesis for the degree of D. Litt. (London), and, even in the enlarged version before us, is not final. It is not easy, however, to see what material Mr. Oakesmith is reserving for the "more elaborate" book which he promises. The subject is one that has been well though briefly treated by Professor Mahaffy in his 'Greek World under Roman Sway,' though Mr. Oakesmith does not accept all Mr. Mahaffy's conclusions. On the other hand, Prof. Lewis Campbell, in his 'Religion in Greek Literature,' gave Plutarch scant notice. But Gréard in France and in Germany Volkmann have treated the subject with a fulness that leaves little to be desired, and in his essay of over two hundred pages Mr. Oakesmith offers nothing essentially new. It is a careful piece of work, perhaps too flattering to Plutarch, whom Mr. Oakesmith somewhat uncritically reveres. In accordance with the etiquette of the thesis, his footnotes give full references to what the Germans call the "Literatur" of the subject, and, as is often the case, these are not the least profitable part of the book. Like too many theses, this one lacks an index, an omission which robs a piece of scholarly work of a great part of its usefulness.

The Great Siberian Railway. By M. M. Shoemaker. Putnam's.

One of the first ideas naturally suggested by the above work is a comparison between it and J. F. Fraser's 'The Real Siberia,' reviewed last fall in these columns. Both are books of travel, of a common kind, by authors unfamiliar with the language of the country which they visited, and not overburdened with too much knowledge of any kind concerning it. Both writers confine themselves, in the main, to what they saw, but Mr. Shoemaker has added some general information about Siberia, taken, as he freely admits, from the English version of the official guide to the railway. His volume is therefore more instructive, and also his tone is more pretentious; indeed, he is rather too fond of reminding us that he has travelled before, which, however, does not seem to prevent him from grumbling a good deal about the ordinary discomforts incidental to a long journey in an out-of-the-way country. Unless the reviewer is mistaken, he has himself travelled in precisely the car used by Mr. Shoemaker, from Moscow to Irkutsk,

and found it, if not what the Americans are so fond of calling "palatial," at least very endurable. Mr. Fraser had to rough it a good deal more, though at a better season of the year, and one of the merits of his account is its cheeriness. He spares us wearisome moralizing, and he does not allow his common sense to desert him in moments of fatigue; and thus he is never guilty of such absurd remarks as, "I fancy a century hence will see little change in Siberia." Siberia is not a paradise, and will never be mistaken for one; but it has vast possibilities, and its resources are being rapidly developed at the present time.

When Mr. Shoemaker (or his guide-book) keeps to the domain of concrete fact, there is little to criticize in what he tells us. The number of his typographical errors is small, and there are not many of his statements to which one must take exception. It is going too far to say (p. 39) that "Siberia is almost a windless land," for, though in most regions the Siberian winter is a still one, the steppes are often windy enough, and the extreme north suffers from the storm called the *purga*. The author was also misinformed (p. 41) about there being a branch railway line from Omsk to Tobolsk. None such exists. In speaking of the colonists of the Trans-Baikal, he says they are called "little Russians," which leads us to suspect that he does not know that the "Little Russians" are one of the three recognized divisions of the Russian nationality, and that they number more than twenty millions. Many of the recent emigrants to Siberia have, it is true, come from their ranks.

In the last part of his book, Mr. Shoemaker tells of a flying trip to Corea, and repeats the story of the shocking murder of the Queen, seven years ago, and his final chapters are devoted to a sketch of his visit to Peking and the surrounding country. The whole volume may be of service to people wishing to make the same trip, but conditions on "the Great Siberian Railway" are changing so fast that any description of them soon becomes antiquated.

St. Augustine and his Age. By Joseph McCabe. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1903.

Mr. McCabe's portrayal of St. Augustine possesses much of the vivid dramatic interest which attracted us in his earlier life of Abélard. In a sense the books are companions and complementary studies; and Mr. McCabe's keen and active intelligence, opulent scholarship, and experience in the things whereof he writes, are as much in evidence in the later as in the earlier volume. There is the same portraiture, lively and grim by turns, of a profound theological intelligence against a background of passionate human life; yet, considered as biography, we can but think the Augustine considerably less successful than the Abélard.

Mr. McCabe's purpose is to correct the perverse impression of Augustine's character and temperament, drawn by inefficient hagiographers from the "seductive Confessions," by viewing his career in a full setting of the various life of his age, and by softening the sharp contrasts of Augustine's edifying self-revelation by a humane

discretion and a temperate and enlightened psychology. There can be no doubt that when Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, took Augustine the rhetorician and "seller of words to boys" as an "awful example" of the unregenerate state, he saw the man that once he was through too many years of dogmatic controversy to see him clearly or see him whole. Mr. McCabe's analysis of the case is worth quoting:

"The fallacy of it all for us, reducing its value as a human document, is that Augustine examines his earlier life from a false point of view. We know how remote his earlier conduct was from the lofty ideal of his later years; but the real moral drama lies in its relation to his pre-Christian conscience. Thus the very attitude of the later ideal spoils the psychological interest of the Confessions. The penitent is face to face with God throughout, striving to maintain throughout the Divine point of view. Fortunately, he drops from the heavens occasionally, and mingles shrewd reflections, subtle speculations, and warm human discourse with his narrative. There it is that have secured for the Confessions not merely immortality, but immortal interest."

Avoiding all categorical extremes, Mr. McCabe contrives to suggest on the lower levels a tolerably consistent and convincing personality. He takes Augustine to have been a clever but none too industrious boy, fond of shows and profane companions, never possessed by the ideal of continence, yet never the vicious and turbulent young fellow that the hagiographers, following the Confessions, have painted him. Indeed, after describing the corruption of the times in quite sufficient detail, our author concludes with the conviction that, young pagan though he was, Augustine was "comparatively a quiet and respectable youth." From this beginning Mr. McCabe proceeds by easy and natural stages to trace a steady mental growth and slow intellectual conversion, culminating in a life of moderate asceticism and great and diverse literary and ecclesiastical activity. We have the external man vividly portrayed—short, slight, nervous, ailing, intensely sympathetic; we have a remarkably learned and vivacious account of a complex and decadent society, torn by heresy and schism, sapped by disgust and secret loathing; and we have a final impression of "a great mind, more subtle than powerful, seeking judgment and expression in circumstances of exceptional hindrance."

All this is eminently readable and enlightened, yet the book as a whole, with all its humanism, its self-avowed "tincture of Pelagianism," fails on the higher levels to make Saint Augustine seem a living personality. The truth is that the author has been the reverse of sympathetic with the vital, unifying principle of Augustine's nature—his mystical, Platonic piety. The emotion of piety in all its degrees, from simple trustfulness to rapturous "quotation of God," is a fact of consciousness of the first moment; it may be minimized in men of the type of Abélard, but it cannot safely be neglected in such a man as the author of the 'Confessions' and the 'City of God.' Mr. McCabe never goes to the deprecatory extreme of Gibbon, but there are certain expressions and passages in the Confessions which might with advantage have had a more emphatic notice in his pages; such sentences as, "When I turned from the one I melted away into the many," or

that chapter telling "How in the Platonic books he found the divinity of the Eternal Word, but not the humility of the Incarnate Word," reveal more of the real nature of the man than the most elaborate account of his dealings with the Manichees or with the Donatists. In short, while the book is an excellent rationalistic treatment of a notably interesting episode in ecclesiastical history, it falls as a biography through the author's lack of sympathy with the ideal fervors of his subject's temperament. Hence comes the lack of unity of character in the portrayal, which is better than a false and specious simplicity, but which is, nevertheless, a grave defect in the story of a man's life.

I Segni Rivelatori della Personalità, da Paola Lombroso. Turin: Fratelli Bocca. 1902. Pp. vii., 235.

Books of a popular sort on the "science" of physiognomy are nearly all worthless or misleading. Human personality, however, is becoming more and more attractive to the evolutionist, and the time is not so remote when we shall possess a treatment of the phenomena involved at once adequate and intelligible. In this little volume, the daughter of the famous Italian criminologist treats in pleasing fashion a topic for the consideration of which woman would seem to have been well qualified by nature, since the unanimous verdict of all ages and peoples credits her with a remarkable capacity for making rapid judgments of persons and their immediate accessories and environments—a view which scientific investigation has amply confirmed as an evolutionary characteristic of the sex. After a brief historical introduction and a chapter on the relations between emotion and physiognomic expression, the author discusses the eye, the mouth, and the other features of face and head, and devotes the remaining half of the book to gesture, graphology, language, profession, and toilet. Looking upon calligraphy as "crystallized gesture," she sees a closer correlation between it and personality than most men of science, with the reviewer, are willing to admit. The character-sketches of the soldier, the magistrate, the teacher, the newspaper man, and the banker, in the chapter on "Profession," are well done. The monotony of the life of the teacher and the varied experience of the journalist are interestingly contrasted. In the section on language one does not find the story of the traveller who discovered the professions of his companions from their answers to the question, "What is it that devours its own offspring?" That tale gives in a nutshell the contents of the chapter. The discussion of gesture is good, but too short. The gesture-ensemble of an individual, the author observes, gives us a sort of psychic shadow of his internal nature which may be compared to the physical one given by the silhouette on the wall.

The illustrations to the chapters on physiognomy are of modern and chiefly of living persons, the frank treatment of whose personalities adds not a little to the general interest of the book. The comparative study (pages 43-47) of Nansen and Garibaldi is suggestive; the one representing the disciplined energy of the man of science, the other the prodigal energy of

the poet in the broad sense of the term. The brief sketch of Enrico Ferri, Socialist leader and Deputy, orator and scientist (pages 54-56), is a tribute to Italian optimism. The eye of Max Nordau and the mouth of the famous actress Duse seem to have impressed the author, the latter unfavorably; so, too, the mouth of Mascagni, the composer, the very short characterization of whom would have been cordially welcomed by our newspaper paragraphers a few months ago. The higher type of the "new woman" may be seen in Miss Kulltchhoff (page 37). A fine appreciation of Mrs. Browning is given on page 65. One can scarcely err in recommending this little volume as the best of its kind perhaps in any language for popular reading. It is at the same time scientific enough not to be very dangerous. It merits an English dress.

Index Britanniae Scriptorum: John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers. Edited by Reginald Lane Poole, with the help of Mary Bateson. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 1902.

Bishop Bale's two bibliographical works, the 'Summarium' (1548), and the more elaborate 'Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Catalogus' (1557-59), are well-known to all investigators of early English literature; and it is hard to say whether they are more valued for the curious information they contain, or execrated for their heedless repetition of unsupported conjectures. Particularly troublesome is the task of determining whether the compiler, in a particular case, was following good authority or whether he was, as one is sometimes tempted to suspect, concealing a defect in his knowledge by means of rhetorical generalities. It is therefore particularly agreeable to have a complete edition of his autograph note-book. This valuable document, preserved among Archbishop Selden's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, almost always records the exact source from which Bale derived his information, and, since it was prepared for his own use, it is practically free from imaginative embellishment. It is a very extensive collection of raw materials for literary history, made "at a date when materials were accessible which in a few years more were scattered and largely lost." Henceforth no student can think of referring to the bishop's printed catalogues without comparing the information they profess to give with the memoranda now made accessible by the industry of Mr. Lane Poole and Miss Bateson.

The editors have very properly directed their attention in the first instance to the careful reproduction of the manuscript and the arrangement of its contents in an order that should make them easy to use. Annotation, however, was also a part of their plan, and their commentary shows hard work and a good deal of learning. Still, at the risk of seeming ungrateful, we must add that it leaves much to be desired. Completeness was, of course, unattainable, but one cannot turn over the leaves of the volume without observing a great many places where useful information might have been supplied, or errors in the catalogue corrected, with slight additional labor. It is a pity, too, that the elaborate indexes do not fully cover the appended matter. (pp. 467-

518), which is particularly difficult to consult.

An example will make it clear how unfortunate this omission is. Many persons suppose that there is a tradition that Sir Thomas Malory, the author of the 'Morte Darthur,' was a Welshman. When the 'tradition' is tested, however, it is found to go back to Bale's 'Catalogus,' and when the statements of that work are scrutinized, they appear to rest on a mistaken interpretation of Leland's language and on the fancy of the writer. It therefore becomes of some moment to ascertain what evidence Bale's own note-book affords on this question. Now the name of Malory is not entered in the index, and is, indeed, not contained in the body of the work as here arranged. It may be found, however, in the fourth appendix (p. 499) in a list of names "ex quodam opusculo Ioannis Lelandi"; and in the second appendix (p. 482), there is an entry of much interest relating to the 'Morte Darthur,' provided for in the index under *Vita Arthuri* only. This second appendix, it should be noted, is an integral

part of Bale's work; it consists of entries which "bear no indication of authorship," and which are now removed from the body of the text in the process of editorial arrangement.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

American Newspaper Annual, 1903. Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son. \$5.
 Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1902. Third Series. Vol. VII. D. Appleton & Co.
 Barr, Amelia E. Thyra Varrick. J. F. Taylor & Co. \$1.50.
 Bierce, Ambrose. Can Such Things Be? Washington: Neale Pub. Co.
 Cohn, A. I. Tests and Reagents, Chemical and Microscopical. John Wiley & Sons. \$3.
 Dewitt, D. M. The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson. Macmillan.
 Everyman: A Moral Play. Fox, Duffield & Co.
 Fitzgerald, Edward. Letters and Literary Remains. Vols. IV., V. Macmillan. \$3 each.
 Gilman, Bradley. Ronald Carnagay, a Commercial Clergyman. Macmillan. \$1.50.
 Hann, Julius. Handbook of Climatology. Part I. Translated by R. D. Ward. Macmillan. \$3.
 Harrison, J. A. Life and Letters of Edgar Allan Poe. 2 vols. T. Y. Crowell & Co.
 Johnson, L. J. Statics by Algebraic and Graphic Methods. John Wiley & Sons. \$2.
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